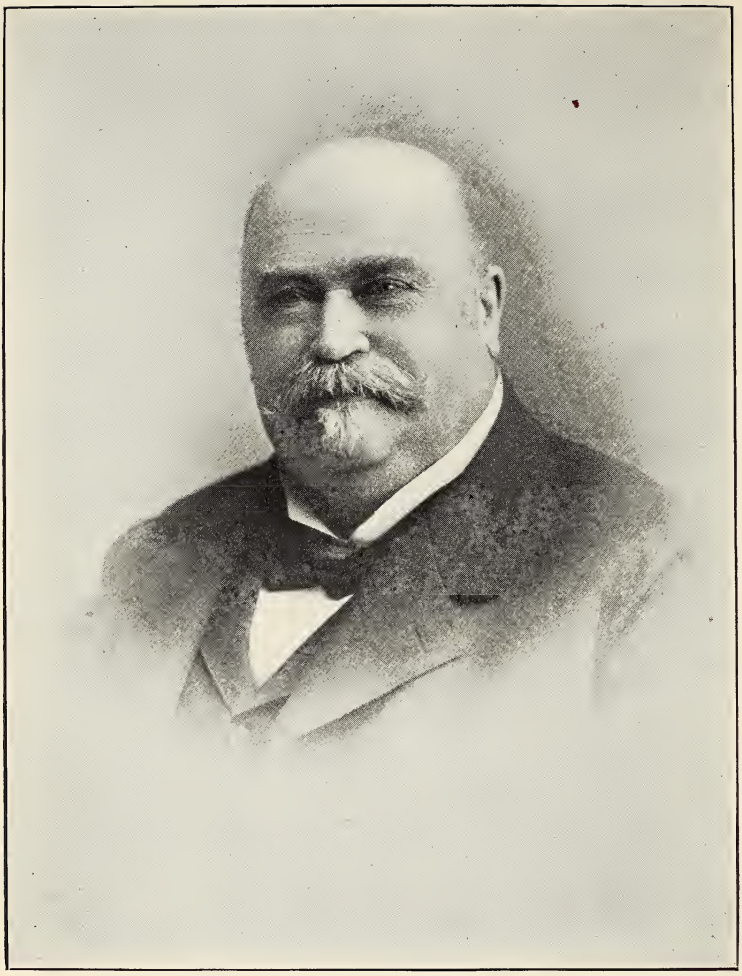

Faithfully yours,

Chas. E. Carr.

Publication Number Nineteen

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1913

Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Illinois, May 15-16, 1913

Published by Authority of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

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OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Honorary President.

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President.

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First Vice-President.

W. T. NORTON ..... Alton

Second Vice-President.

L. Y. SHERMAN ..... Springfield

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GEORGE W. SMITH, Southern Illinois Normal University... Carbondale
WILLIAM A. MEESE ..... Moline
RICHARD V. CARPENTER ..... Belvidere
EDWARD C. PAGE, Northern Illinois State Normal School..... DeKalb
J. W. CLINTON ..... Polo
ANDREW RUSSEL ..... Jacksonville
WALTER COLYER ..... Albion
JAMES A. JAMES, Northwestern University ..... Evanston
H. W. CLENDENIN ..... Springfield

Secretary-Treasurer.

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER ..... Springfield

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets, or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the Journal. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the State Historical Library. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the co-operation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such co-operation and mutual undertaking that this society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part is bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

(Members please read this circular letter.)

Books and pamphlets on American history, biography, and genealogy, particularly those relating to the west; works on Indian tribes, and American archaeology and ethnology; reports of societies and institutions of every kind, educational, economic, social, political, co-operative, fraternal, statistical, industrial, charitable; scientific publications of states or societies; books or pamphlets relating to the great rebellion, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; newspapers; maps and charts; engravings; photographs; autographs; coins; antiquities; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographical works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; materials for Illinois history; old letters, journals.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the late rebellion; biographies of the pioneers; prominent citizens and public men of every county either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlement of every township, village, and neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons or addresses delivered in the State; minutes of church conventions, synods, or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school superintend-

ents, and school committees; educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our territorial and State legislatures; earlier Governor's messages and reports of State officers; reports of State charitable and other State institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery; paintings; portraits, etc., connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins; medals; paintings; portraits; engravings; statuary; war relics; autograph letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc.; sketches of prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities, and implements; also, stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the library and society, and will be carefully preserved in the State house as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the librarian and secretary.

(Mrs.) Jessie Palmer Weber.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The name of this society shall be the ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEC. 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of this society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors, of which board the president of the society shall be ex officio a member.

SEC. 2. There shall be a president and as many vice-presidents, not less than three, as the society may determine at the annual meetings. The board of directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

SEC. 3. The directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the board of directors diligently to promote the objects for which this society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together, with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled, "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled, 'An Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor,'" approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this constitution for the management of the affairs of the society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the society at its annual meeting.

SEC. 5. Vacancies in the board of directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

SEC. 6. The president shall preside at all meetings of the society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the vice-presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice-president shall be in attendance, the society may choose a president pro tempore.

SEC. 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the society or the board of directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the board of directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the board of directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said board shall submit said report to the society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. The membership of this society shall consist of five classes, to wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding, and Honorary.

SEC. 2. Any person may become an active member of this society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the board of directors.

SEC. 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may, upon payment of twenty-five dollars, be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

SEC. 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archæological research or in the preservation of

the knowledge of historic events, may, upon the recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as affiliated members of this society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly credited representative at each meeting of the society, who shall, during the period of his appointment, be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

SEC. 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this society, may, upon recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

SEC. 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the society upon the recommendation of the board of directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

SEC. 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the society.

ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

SECTION 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board of Directors to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

SEC. 2. Special meetings of the society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Boards of Directors may be called by the president or any two members of the board.

SEC. 3. At any meeting of the society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting: *Provided,* that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the secretary to all the members of the society.

PART I—RECORD OF OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS, 1913.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The fourteenth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held on Thursday and Friday, May 15-16, 1913, in the State House, Springfield.

The annual address was presented by Mr. George A. Lawrence, of Galesburg. The subject of Mr. Lawrence's address was on Benjamin Lundy, the pioneer anti-slavery agitator of Illinois. Few of the citizens of today realize the work of Benjamin Lundy or know that he became a citizen of Illinois, published a newspaper at Hennepin and is buried in this State.

Mr. Lawrence's address was given on Thursday evening and is published in full in this volume of the transactions. The society held its business session on the morning of the second day, Friday morning, at which time reports of officers and committees were read, officers elected and other business presented. The change was made on account of the fact that members of the society who are teachers in the schools cannot easily be away from home for two days, and Friday being the most convenient day for them has been selected as the time for holding the annual business meeting of the society. A meeting of the Board of Directors and of some committees was held on Thursday morning, but no general meeting of the society.

The literary sessions began on Thursday afternoon. Papers were presented relating to the history of religious denominations in the State.

This was one of the principal features of the annual meeting. Addresses were made on the Roman Catholic church by Rev. James J. Howard, of Springfield; on the Baptist church by W. C. MacNaull, of Chicago; the Methodist church by Rev. John M. Ryan, of Pontiac; on the Presbyterian church by Rev. H. D. Jenkins, of Riverside; on the Christian church or Disciples of Christ by Rev. N. S. Haynes, of Decatur. These gentlemen are all special students of the history of the churches mentioned and the papers presented were of much interest, and it is certain that they will form a valuable addition to the ecclesiastical and denominational history of the State.

April 23, 1913, was the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Stephen A. Douglas and it is fitting that an address on this great American statesman be given at the annual meeting. The life and career of

Douglas is of interest to every one, and many students have given special attention to the study of his character and achievements.

Among these Douglas students no one has devoted more time, attention and painstaking research to the subject than has Frank E. Stevens, of Dixon, Ill. Mr. Stevens is the author of the most complete and authoritative history of the Black Hawk War, and he has contributed valuable articles on historical subjects to the columns of the transactions of the Historical Society and to the Journal, among the more notable of these being his account of the part taken by the frontier territory of Illinois in the war of 1812-1814, his sketch of the life of A. P. Field, and his recent contribution to the Journal of January, 1913, of valuable notes and editorial work in connection with the autobiographical sketch of Senator Douglas. Mr. Stevens gave the society at the annual meeting an address on Douglas which was different from the usual eulogies, and was of the greatest interest.

Prof. O. B. Clark, of Drake University, of Des Moines, Ia., presented an address on Abraham Lincoln. So much has been written about Mr. Lincoln that it would seem hardly possible that anything new could be said, but Professor Clark had some new thoughts and facts to communicate. These he gave to the Historical Society in an address entitled the Lincoln Poor White Legend.

It was hoped that Mr. B. F. Harris, of Champaign, an active member of the Illinois State Bankers' Association, would give the society an address on legislation in reference to agricultural conditions in Illinois, but owing to absence from the State he was unable to do so, but has promised to address the society at a later time.

Mr. Paul Selby, the veteran newspaper man, and the last of the members of the Illinois Editorial Convention of February 22, 1856, closed his earthly career Marsh 19, 1913. Mr. H. W. Clendenin, editor of the Illinois State Register, presented a paper on the life of Mr. Selby at the annual meeting. Mr. Selby was an honorary member of the society and was most interested in and helpful to it in every way. The secretary of the society has always been assisted by the kind and generous counsel of Mr. Selby.

An address on the life of Gen. Smith D. Atkins, of Freeport, was presented by Mr. Richard V. Carpenter, of Belvidere, one of the directors of the society.

Prof. E. B. Greene, the president of the Board of Trustees of the Historical Library and one of the directors of the society, spoke at the meeting upon the condition of the public archives and records in this State and made some suggestions as to the preservation of such records.

The program was practically carried out as printed.

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MAY 16, 1913, STATE LIBRARY—10:30 A. M.

The meeting was called to order by the president of the society, Col. Clark E. Carr, of Galesburg.

The first order of business was the reading of the secretary's report.

The secretary explained that this report is as usual made to the Board of Directors of the society and has been accepted by the directors and that she had been directed to read it to the society. The report was read and it is printed in full in this volume of the transactions of the society. After the reading of the report the chairman asked the desire of the society as to its disposition.

Dr. Schmidt.—I move that it be approved and ordered placed on file. This motion was carried.

Col. Carr.—Shall we take up the reports of officers? Are there other reports of officers? The next thing is the report of officers, then the election of officers. I understand that a paper has been prepared by Mr. Clendenin on Paul Selby. We will have that whenever you are ready for it. The secretary has a copy of it.

Captain Burnham.—Mr. President, the next thing in order is the election of officers.

Professor Greene.—I move that the Nominating Committee be appointed. The chair appointed the following as a Nominating Committee:

George W. Smith, chairman; Mrs. I. G. Miller, Miss Lottie E. Jones, Andrew Russel, H. W. Clendenin.

Mr. Clendenin.—I would prefer not to be on that committee. I cannot hear very well.

Chairman.—Mr. Clendenin asks to be excused.

Mr. Clendenin.—I would not insist upon it.

Mr. Silliman was appointed in Mr. Clendenin's place on committee.

Mr. Clendenin.—I think the program ought to be carried out according to print. Some of the people want to hear from Professor Greene.

Mrs. Weber.—Mr. Chairman, Mr. Clendenin suggests that we carry out the program. Will you call for the committee reports then?

Col. Clark.—If those reports are ready we will have them. Miss Osborne read the Genealogical Committee report. This report is printed in this volume.

Mr. Clendenin.—I move that the report be accepted and placed on file. Carried.

Mr. Carpenter.—I think a special vote of thanks ought to be passed by the society to the Genealogical Committee. I think for several years, ever since the committee was formed, they have been doing great work. Carried.

Mr. Chairman.—Are there other committees?

Mrs. Weber.—I had expected Mr. McCan Davis to be here, but he is not present, but as I am a member of that committee I will say that Mr. Davis has carefully gone over the manuscripts for the past two years and both are in the hands of the printer and will possibly be ready within the next six months.

Mrs. Weber.—Chairman of the Program Committee, said the program of the meeting is the report of the committee.

Captain Burnham.—There seems to be a few minutes that we may use. I notice that the secretary called attention to the necessity of

having more publicity given to the matter of a new building, and it is certainly a very important matter. It is probable, as she says, no action will be taken at this session and we ought to organize public sentiment if we can, so that by the time it comes up in the Legislature the next time there will be a strong public demand to coincide with our request, and that is a problem that ought to be considered in some way. I thought since I came here of one way, perhaps. We have a number of editors of papers who are members through furnishing a copy of their paper and there are editors and press representatives. I have been wondering whether we could not, through those papers, arouse public sentiment at the proper time. Perhaps not right away, but sometime in the future we could have some plans made that would interest the press of the State at what might be the proper time and these papers could be of great assistance to us.

Chairman.—Have you a motion to make?

Captain Burnham.—I hardly know. I just thought of this. I suppose that what I have said is out of order. I hardly feel like making a motion. Someone else might think of a better way to get at it.

Mr. Clendenin.—In regard to that matter I think if the secretary or some one of the officers could take the matter up with the newspapers, get up a circular letter telling the people what it is to be used for, and showing its value to the State, and send it to all the newspapers, they would be glad to co-operate with us in giving it all the publicity desired. They would be glad to do it if they knew just what to use.

Mr. Moore.—I think if you would have these circulars sent to each public school in the State you would have a local center and to the large body of people it would be easier to understand the idea—for the site of the educational building—and let them work up the educational building.

Mr. Carr.—How would it do to appoint a committee?

Mr. Burnham.—Can you name such a building? Mr. Burnham then went on and stated the greatest difficulty would be to get the circular in the hands of the newspapers so they could all use it at the same time owing to the different dates of their publication.

Mr. Moore.—Made a suggestion along the same line.

Mr. Carr.—Which paper will we have first?

Professor Greene read his paper on the Public Archives of the State of Illinois. This paper is published in this volume of the transactions.

Mr. Clark E. Carr.—Is there any action concerning the paper. Has Mr. Greene anything further to say.

Mr. Moore.—There is one thing I want to say in regard to this subject. At home all the files of the Journal, which Mr. Selby was the editor of, the Jacksonville Journal, in 1859 are gone. I have spoken to the present proprietors of the Journal and also to the librarians of the city library and tried to get the papers put in the public library. I think it would be well to employ the public libraries of the various cities of the State that are reasonably fireproof as local depositories. Another thing, the Journal has its files (I have had occasion to go through their files) stored in a little closet—a regular firetrap and dirty. Latterly they have had them down cellar. Neither place is safe. Neither

place is healthy or clean and as a matter of fact it would have been more convenient for the editors or others to have gone down to the public library and found the files at any time and refer to them much more easily than it would be to keep them as they did and with added safety. I think it would be a valuable thing to do.

Mr. Burnham.—Mr. President, this is certainly a very important matter and still the more you look into it the more difficult it appears. The matter of transferring records from towns to State is probably a good one and the Historical Library perhaps could draw the line by having some act passed by the Legislature by which counties having no fireproof receptacles would be required to bring their papers here and those that had fireproof receptacles not be obliged to. I happen to know that in Bloomington, since we built the fireproof court house, that our papers are quite as safe as they could be made here and if these papers were brought here, on the large scale, we must have an immense building, and I am afraid if we go to the length advocated in the paper that the building to house them would consume all the room.

Mr. Greene stated that Mr. Burnham's objection was based on a misunderstanding. He did not mean all papers, just a few of the most important ones.

Captain Burnham.—How would you draw the line? Did your investigator find there was a sort of jealousy existing?

Mr. Greene.—Yes, there is a little feeling of that kind. We were not trying to collect matter.

Mr. Burnham.—It seem to me that to preserve them on the large scale you are suggesting would require a structure separate from this educational building, in order to have a place to which we could transfer papers from this building and have the accumulation of papers not crowd the future historical material. It is a pretty big subject. The most important historical material existing in our counties are the deeds and records and nearly every county has indexes to those deeds and records and abstracts of titles are furnished from those indexes and there are wagonloads of those books in the different counties and they would not be transferred and those are the ones that everybody is interested in; every building lot, every farm has its history from the time it was government land until the present time so that historical records are in those papers. It seems to me that this subject is a very large one and well worthy of being considered as it has been in this paper and further consideration should be given to it.

Mr. Greene.—My recommendation is that we try to get this building.

Colonel Carr.—Is it necessary to take any action regarding this matter? If not we will proceed with Mr. Clendenin's paper.

Mr. Clendenin.—Before Mrs. Weber reads my paper I just want to explain one thing to you about its preparation. Of course, I am indebted to Mrs. Weber for the dates of the record of Mr. Paul Selby. She very kindly furnished them to me as I cannot look over books myself on account of defective eyesight. I made my paper as brief as possible because I thought many papers would be long and I did not want to

tire the audience. That is the explanation of my asking Mrs. Weber to read my paper.

The paper of Mr. Clendenin on Paul Selby was read by Mrs. Weber, and it is published in full in this volume of the transactions.

Mr. Carr.—I feel constrained my friends to add a word of commendation of Mr. Selby whom I knew ever since the organization of the Republican party and whom I appreciated beyond all others. We were together at different times quite frequently and I wish to express my appreciation, as I have no doubt it is all of ours, of the head and heart of the man who was his associate and in many ways his rival for many years, Mr. Clendenin, who wrote that beautiful paper on our dear lamented departed friend Paul Selby.

Mr. Burnham.—Mr. President, I only want to say that the production of this paper by the writer is one of the proofs that the Historical Society is thoroughly non-partisan.

Mr. Carr.—What is the further pleasure of this meeting?

Professor Smith.—The Nominating Committee is now ready to report.

Mr. Carr.—The report will be presented by Mr. Andrew Russel, of Jacksonville.

Mr. Russel.—As secretary of this Nominating Committee I have the honor of presenting its report and move its adoption by the society:

"Col. Clark E. Carr, honorary president; Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, president; W. T. Norton, 1st vice-president; L. Y. Sherman, 2d vice-president; Richard Yates, 3d vice-president; George A. Lawrence, 4th vice-president.

"Directors—Edmund J. James, president University of Illinois; J. H. Burnham, Bloomington; E. B. Greene, Champaign; Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield; Charles A. Rammelkamp, Jacksonville; J. O. Cunningham, Urbana; George W. Smith, Carbondale; E. M. Bowman, Alton; Wm. A. Meese, Moline; James A. James, Northwestern University, Evanston; Richard V. Carpenter, Belvidere; Edward C. Page, De Kalb; J. W. Clinton, Polo; Andrew Russel, Jacksonville; Walter Colyer, Albion; Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, secretary and treasurer.

"Honorary Vice-Presidents—All Presidents of Local Historical Societies."

Mr. Russel.—Members of this society, I would say personally, would still want Colonel Carr to be at the head of this institution and the idea of this is, as I understand, is that when Colonel Carr cannot preside at any meeting Dr. Schmidt will be here to preside. We want the advice of Colonel Carr and will always expect him to be our head.

Motion seconded by Professor Greene.

Chairman.—All in favor of the report of the Nominating Committee will please signify by saying "aye;" contrary, "no." The ayes have it and the report of the Nominating Committee is adopted, and the secretary is directed to cast the ballot for the officers named by the nominating committee and elected by the society.

This she did, and the officers for the year were declared duly elected.

Dr. Schmidt.—"Mr. President I am so much overcome by the honor of this advancement. I had intended to absolutely refuse any proposition of the kind, but by the rather rapid adoption of the report I do not know where I am." Dr. Schmidt said he had labored for the society in the past and would continue to do so in the future and as willingly as a mere member without any thought of reward whatever, and that he felt that there were others in the society—Mr. Burnham and Professor Smith who had done more than he, that he felt disappointed about taking anything away from them. He expressed his thanks for the honor.

Mr. Greene.—Mr. President I think that none of us here this morning feels that the occasion ought to pass without some further expression of feeling in the minds of all of us and I wish to express my own word of appreciation of the years of service which have been given in the last few years by our president. It seems to me that in giving him this position of honorary president we have given an expression of the deep debt we owe to him. The men who work from time to time in the society will vary from year to year, but I am quite sure that there are very few people in the society who will feel themselves quite as at home in the State Historical society which lacks the name of Colonel Carr.

Professor Smith.—I have just one word to say that I think has not been clearly brought out. It is the wish of this Nominating Committee and the organization that this position of honorary president of this society shall continue as long as the honored president shall live, and is intended for a life time title for his services in the society.

Mr. Burnham.—I would like to go a little further than that. I believe that the society honors itself by taking this action and I believe that in all future time it might be comparatively easy to find an individual in the State whose life and history would make it an honor to the society to continue to have an honorary president. I feel that this is a very happy move.

Colonel Carr.—I simply have to say that I am very grateful to you and I appreciate your kind expressions, ladies and gentlemen, beyond all others. I have enjoyed the position of president of the society and I have done the best that I could. That is all I can say.

Mrs. Weber.—Mr. Chairman, is it in order for the secretary to say a word? I simply want to say that Colonel Carr said to me and wrote to me that Dr. Schmidt was the one that he would like to have hold up his hands. Of course, he knew nothing of this arrangement. It is Colonel Carr's own wish that Dr. Schmidt be elected to assist him as the president of the society.

Mr. Moore.—I do not want to inflict myself upon this company but Paul Selby belonged to Jacksonville as much as he belonged to any one else, and Jacksonville as usual is a feature of Illinois. I knew Mr. Selby since about 1857. I do not know just how many knew him earlier than that. Perhaps, Colonel Carr. He belonged to a society that I did at Illinois college. We had two literary societies there and he was a member of them. Naturally, I was thrown with him a great deal. I wrote an article when I was in college and published it in the Journal for

the nomination of General Palmer for Governor of Illinois and I was very much pleased that in the June after Governor Palmer was nominated. I suppose Mr. Selby, who was then editor of the Journal, brought out my article to introduce General Palmer through that. He always let me say anything I wanted to in his paper, and, as I say, he was a Jacksonville man and we never let go of him. The State cannot have all of it.

I want to say another thing for Colonel Carr. My love for my State is largely typified in its name and I think the State of Illinois and its men, loyal native sons and daughters owe Mr. Carr their long continued thanks for bringing out in that book of his, the Illini, the name of the State, that State which produces men. It is the name that is the honorable part of Illinois. Colonel Carr did the State of Illinois a service and history a service in writing that book. It certainly was a great addition to our library.

Mr. Clendenin.—I want to speak a word about Colonel Carr. I have been a member and known its president. Colonel Carr is one of my best friends and I am glad to know that in relieving him of the active presidency, which, of course, his advancing years would make a burden to him, they leave him as the head of the Historical Society. It affords me great pleasure to add my testimony to the other members of the society and I appreciate it. (Mr. Clendenin told of the excellent manner in which Colonel Carr had served the society and its interests.)

Colonel Carr.—What is the further pleasure of the meeting?

Mr. Burnham.—Mr. President, our constitution and by-laws seem to require that in electing honorary members of the society we elect them on the recommendation of the Board of Directors. That matter was passed over at the meeting of the Board of Directors yesterday. On that account there seems to be two or three that cannot very well be acted upon.

Mrs. Weber.—There will be another meeting of the Board of Directors. We will have it up before the evening meeting.

Mr. Carr.—Motion to adjourn is in order.

Professor Smith.—I move that we now adjourn. Carried.

Adjournment made to 2:30 in the afternoon.

DIRECTORS' MEETINGS.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the office of the secretary of the society, February 18, 1913, at 3:00 P.M. There were present: Professor E. B. Greene, Dr. O. L. Schmidt, Mr. W. T. Norton, Mr. Wm. A. Meese, Prof. Chas. H. Rammelkamp, Prof. E. C. Page, and the secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber. The president of the society, Col. Clark E. Carr, came in later and presided over the meeting. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The secretary reported that the plan of calling the financial year of the society, from May to May, that is from one annual meeting to the

next, had not been satisfactory, and asked that the plan be changed back to the former method of following the calendar year, January 1, to December 31, each year.

Mr. Meese moved that this plan as requested be adopted. Professor Greene seconded the motion, which, on being put to a vote, was carried.

It was voted that the expenses of the directors of the socity be paid for one meeting each year, and that this be the meeting of the directors held at the time of the annual meeting of the society.

The secretary and treasurer was authorized to pay the expenses of the directors for such meeting.

A general discussion as to plans for the proposed new building was held.

There being no further business, the meeting of the Board of Directors adjourned to meet at the time of the annual meeting, unless called earlier in special meeting.

DIRECTORS' MEETINGS, MAY 15, 1913.

The directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the Historical Library at 10:45 A.M., May 15, 1913.

There were present: Messrs. Carr, Burnham, Meese, Rammelkamp, Russel, Carpenter, and the secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

The minutes of February 18 were read and approved.

A picture of Benjamin Lundy was presented by the Hon. George A. Lawrence, of Galesburg, Ill.

Mr. Meese spoke of the plans for the new Historical Society Building and discussed same. He also spoke of the site of old Fort Chartres and plans for the restoration of it. He also suggested that a Historic Site Committee, to have historic sites in charge, would be a good idea.

It was moved by Doctor Rammelkamp, and seconded by Captain Burnham, that a committee composed of Hon. William A. Meese, Hon. Andrew Russel and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber be appointed to investigate and prepare a bill making such plans to be presented to the next session of the Legislature. Carried.

Information in regard to Cahokia Mound Committee, of which Hon. W. T. Norton is chairman, was called for. General discussion of what can be done for the preservation of the Mound followed.

Mr. Norton spoke of the work the Cahokia Mound Association composed of the mayors of Alton, Belleville, East St. Louis, and the president of the Board of Trade of Alton, and other interested citizens.

Mr. Meese spoke of the attitude of the owners of the Fort Chartres site.

Mr. Norton again spoke of the Great Cahokia Mound.

Mr. Meese spoke of the proposed new historical building and stated that Superintendent Blair would explain plans and reports, etc., in the meeting of the society in the afternoon.

Other plans were suggested. It was moved to take a recess until five o'clock. Carried.

At the meeting at five o'clock Captain Burnham spoke on his expectation and his hope to prepare a paper with plans and maps on the over-flow of the river at Kaskaskia, which destroyed the old capital town. He had tried to prepare such a paper, but had been unable to do so, and now he fears he can never do so and thinks that some one else should do it. He thought that Doctor Brown, of Bloomington, could do so. Mr. Meese said such data is hard to secure. All members interested should attempt to collect data. This should be the subject of an address at the next annual meeting. Mr. C. M. Thompson was suggested for it. All data collected by members to be submitted and some one decided on to write the paper. It was, however, the wish of the directors that Captain Burnham himself continue the work and this he consented to do.

According to a resolution of the meeting of directors of February 18, 1913, approved May 15, 1913, the treasurer was directed to pay expenses of directors for attendance on annual meeting from Historical Society fund from annual dues collected from members of the society.

It was also suggested that the names of the presidents of the local historical societies be printed in the Journal.

There being no further business presented the meeting of the Board of Directors adjourned, to meet as a new board after the election of officers at the annual business meeting.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

May 14, 1913.

To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to submit to you my report of the affairs of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year ending May 14, 1913.

The society has grown and extended its influence largely during the year. We have now more than 1,300 members of all classes—Honorary members, annual members, life members, press association members. Of course our membership is principally resident of this State, but we have quite a number of former residents of Illinois who now live in other states but who have not lost their interest in their old home and who keep in touch with Illinois history through membership in this society and through its publications. We have one life member who lives in Paris, France.

The society has attempted this year to maintain the high standard of its publications and the Journal continues to create interest in all parts of the country. It does not attempt to compete with or rival the Illinois Historical Collections which are prepared with great labor and expense by special writers, but its editors wish it to be the special organ of the membership of the society, and they desire contributions from it especially on matters pertaining to local history.

The editors and the secretary of the society make a special plea for information in regard to local historical events, local records of any kind, collections of letters, and local books and pamphlets.

I wish each member would regard himself as a special committee or agent for his own locality, to hunt up for the society, such material. A circular letter asking for aid in securing historical material of this nature was published in the April Journal of the society. You are requested to carefully read this letter.

We have lost by death a number of our valued members.

Notices of deaths and brief biographies appear in the Journal, so I do not give them here.

The society assisted in the observance of the Madison County Centennial at Edwardsville, in September, 1912. This was a notable and successful affair, and will serve as an example of what a county can accomplish. The secretary sent some material to help in the historical exhibit and a committee from the society and many members attended the dedication of the monument which was erected by the State to the memory of Governor Ninian Edwards and the pioneers of the county.

Committees have also been appointed to assist in the Edwards County and the St. Clair County Centennial observances in 1914. The society held a special meeting on February 18, 1913. Mr. Meese and Mr. Thompson addressed the meeting. Mr. Thompson on his work on the Lincoln Way and Mr. Meese gave an illustrated lecture on early Illinois. The meeting was largely attended.

THE ILLINOIS STATE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, 1918.

This commission consists of ten members of the General Assembly—five Senators and five Representatives—and President James, Professor Greene, Professor Garner, of the State University, and Dr. O. L. Schmidt and Jessie Palmer Weber, of the Illinois State Historical Society.

I now ask the members of this society to give this matter earnest thought and then make suggestions to the secretary of the society, who is a member of the commission. Let us make our State's Centennial memorable.

President James has said that as we celebrate a century of progress of the most wonderful Republic the world has ever known and of a century of the life of one of the most remarkable of the States of this Republic, it will be an opportunity for us to make this a celebration world-wide in its scope, and that it is none too soon to actively begin preparations.

It is to be hoped that we will have a new building for the Historical and Educational Departments of the State by that time, and that it will be thoroughly appropriate and beautiful.

Yesterday, Senator Logan Hay of Sangamon County, introduced a bill for a new building for the Historical Society and allied interests. I regret that we are unable to report that very high hopes are entertained for the passage of this bill. Owing to the great demand for money and the necessary increased rate of taxation it does not seem likely that legislation for the building can be secured at this session of the Legislature. We are not discouraged by these conditions and we must continue to work for it.

The transactions of the society for the past two years are in the hands of the printer. The great number of State boards, including many temporary or special ones, and commissions which are all required to make reports, make the pressure of public printing something enormous. As executive officers and their reports have precedence always, it means long delays for minor boards.

Other legislation for historical projects has also been discouraged.

Madison County, under the leadership of Senator Beall and Representative Flagg, both members of this society, and the other Representatives from that district, has been making a valiant struggle for the purchase and preservation of the Great Cahokia Mound.

Efforts are being made to secure for the State the site and remains of old Fort Chartres.

Also the White Pine forests of Ogle County; this last named project has received great assistance from the State Federation of Woman's Clubs.

The State Park Board is recommending and assisting in these worthy objects and is attempting to extend its work by further improvements and more land at Starved Rock.

Very respectfully,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.

LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR.

Early in April, 1913, a letter was sent by Governor Dunne asking recommendations for changes in the different departments of the State. The following letter was sent in answer to the Governor's inquiry in regard to conditions in the Historical Library:

"Hon. William L. Sullivan, Secretary to Gov. Dunne, Springfield, Ill.

"DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of April 4th in regard to the crowded conditions of the Illinois State Historical Library and its needs of more room for present conditions, to say nothing of room for its expansion and growth, I desire to say that this department has for its entire quarters—the main library room, which is a room approximately 30 by 60 feet in size (its actual measurement being a fraction less), and the librarian's room or office, a room which is something less than 12 by 40 feet.

"Ten years ago, 1903 when the library was moved into these rooms from its former quarters, the north reading-room of the State Library, proper equipment was installed for the books of the library in steel stacks having an upper and lower floor or tier, and it was believed that these stacks would provide space for the books of the library and their increase for a period of five years, it being even then believed that within a short time a building would be provided for the Historical Department of the State.

"About two years and a half ago, or a little more, a slight sagging of the central stacks of the equipment was observed, which became daily more apparent. As the room had not originally been designed for a library room in the plans of the State House as had been the main

library room in the west wing of the building, which is especially supported from the foundation up, and books being extremely heavy, the Engineers of the State Highway Commission were asked to investigate the question of the weight imposed on the floors by the library books. The weight of the books was estimated and the floors examined, parts of the floor being taken up for the purpose of exact measurements and the bridge builders informed the library officials that the usual allowance for weight for the supports and arches had already been exceeded. The library room being over the long east corridor between the offices of the Governor and Secretary of State, and on account of the long corridor underneath the arches or supports are very far apart. It was found however that the sagging was from defective construction of the book stacks and not from any weakness in the floor.

"The Secretary of State thought it best that the upper floor of the library stacks be removed. This being done nearly one-half of the shelving space of the library was cut off, and this at a time when it seemed that the limit had been reached in room for the expansion of the library.

"Hon. James A. Rose, then Secretary of State requested the officials of the library to say nothing publicly of the reasons for removing the upper stacks because of the fact that it might give rise to rumors and exaggerated stories, and exaggerated statements that the State House is unsafe, when it fact there was no such fear except that it is, of course, undesirable to overload any structure.

"It was then necessary to take away from the library rooms proper all materials except the most generally used and most frequently called for material. In a special collection such as this, it is the unusual which is wanted, for many persons exhaust other libraries and depositories before coming to the State Historical Library, hence, though earnest efforts were made to make a judicious selection, it is often necessary to search through the stacked away materials for important and necessary documents.

"This frequently causes long and vexatious delays. The Secretary of State did the very best he could to help the library in its predicament but as the Capitol building is full to overflowing, he was able only to give it two small storerooms on the fourth floor back of the Senate and two rooms in the basement or sub-cellar. These rooms are most inaccessible, but we have made every effort to make them safe for the preservation of the valuable materials stored in them. In spite of this, however, after the roof of the State House was injured in the great storm of 1911, the roof over the room in the fourth floor leaked badly and many of the files of newspapers stored away in that room were injured though they were laboriously opened and carefully dried.

"The Library Board has from time to time purchased steel stacks for the constantly increasing files of newspapers, purchasing these stacks of a style that can be used in more ample quarters when the time shall come, but buying small sections, is at the best, not the most economical way of buying equipment for any building.

"We have on our shelves in the library's two rooms places for about 800 files of bound newspapers.

"Some years ago the Illinois State Historical Society sent delegates to the meeting of the State Press Association, at which time an arrangement was made with the Press Association whereby editors were invited to send copies of their papers to the Illinois State Historical Library and the library promised to send these editors copies of the publications of the Library and Historical Society and the editors thus became members of the Historical Society; the library also promised to preserve and bind the newspapers thus sent and make them accessible to the people of the State and the students in general.

"About seventy-five newspaper men send their papers as requested and many more would gladly do so if asked, but the library is absolutely unable to keep its agreement to bind the newspapers as there is no place to store them and make them accessible to the public. We preserve them, arrange them in order, and wrap them in heavy paper and put them away in our attic storeroom until such time as we have time and place to have them bound and made accessible. The library would like to have, and hopes in time to have, two papers at least from each county in the State, that is, one of each of the principal political parties. These form local histories of localities which cannot be found in any other way. Wisconsin has an immense collection of papers. It has in its magnificent Historical Library one of the largest collections of newspapers in the United States. More Illinois newspapers can be found in the Wisconsin Historical Library than can be found in our own Historical Library. These are housed in the immense basement-rooms of the beautiful building. The basement is the best place for newspaper files on account of their weight.

"If we should preserve in the library two newspapers from each of the one hundred and two counties of Illinois, that would mean at least two hundred and four papers each year, binding the smaller papers in annual volumes, though many of them are too large to bind in this way, making the volume too thick and heavy to be conveniently handled. We take in the library four Chicago daily papers, which on account of their size have to be bound in monthly volumes. This makes forty-eight volumes a year of the Chicago papers. We take one St. Louis daily paper which is much used by southern Illinois people and which is bound monthly like the Chicago papers. We also subscribe to four Springfield daily papers. These we bind every two months. The Chicago papers—as above stated—make forty-eight, the St. Louis twelve and the Springfield twenty-four volumes per year or a total of eighty-four volumes a year of these necessary daily papers which are consulted constantly and by all classes of individuals.

"The politician looks back to see the speeches of himself or his opponent; the student searches them for historical addresses or advertisements or things that serve to prove the manners and customs of the days; they are searched for death notices, marriage notices, and tax advertisements, advertisements, and the librarian has more than once been obliged to take a file of the newspapers into court to prove accounts and advertisements of official improvements, etc.

"As before stated we have shelf room for about 800 newspaper files; these are all taxed to their utmost and the storerooms are filled to over-

flowing. We have on the floor and chairs and tables, on tops of book stacks, etc., about 200 volumes of recent additions to our newspapers. These are the latest bound files of contemporary newspapers; older files are stored away in dark and inaccessible storerooms.

"Many newspaper men would be glad to present to the State old and valuable files asking only an assurance of good care, accessibility and storage in a fireproof building. These assurances we are unable at present to give.

"Agents of other institutions are going through the country hunting up and buying precious material, which ought to be the property of Illinois. Wisconsin is getting such material; the Library of Congress and the Carnegie institutions are collecting them and taking them away from the State and when they are secured by these rich and powerful institutions they are forever lost to Illinois and our students are obliged to spend the time and money to visit them instead of finding such things in the Historical Department of their own State—and it is not so much a question of the cost of such material as it is the absolute lack of space and facilities for taking care of them.

"This is not only true of newspapers but of books and other historical material and larger articles for a historical and archaeological museum.

"The library has more than once been obliged to decline collections because it could not meet the conditions required by the donors, a fireproof building to receive them and their exhibition and accessibility.

"It was during the last session of the General Assembly that the great fire at Albany occurred and also the burning of the Missouri State House and the great loss of valuable records at both places. This library, while not so rich as it should be in its collection of valuable original manuscripts, yet has some that are invaluable. We have no safe place for their storage and care. We have not even a small fireproof safe and we have scarcely a foot of space in which to house such a safe if we had it. Of course, less important filing cases or book cases might be removed to make room for it, but we have so often weeded out the matter that is not absolutely essential to our working library that it would be hard to decide upon what we could do without.

"Every bit of floor space and every bit of wall space is in use and books are in double rows on our shelves.

"If the original marriage license of Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd was burned no money could replace it. If the original letter written by Mr. Lincoln to the Union mass meeting of 1863 and which was actually read at the meeting, with Mr. Lincoln's letter transmitting it was destroyed, how could such a loss be repaired?

"If we lose the actual record (election tally sheet) of Lincoln's first vote, how could we replace it? These are but a few of the precious manuscripts which the State owns and which are in the custody of the Illinois State Historical Library. If banknotes are burned or destroyed by mice, they can be replaced if the numbers are known and no loss will result, but if a precious manuscript of which there is but one original copy is destroyed it is lost for all time and no money can replace it.

"The library has prepared historical exhibits for three expositions—St. Louis, 1904; Portland, 1905 and Jamestown, 1907. These are partially exhibited on the walls of the library and form an interesting and valuable exhibit.

"These collections are framed in flat wall cases and they contain photographic and manuscript material which illustrates the history of the State in many phases. Only the Lincoln material is exhibited in the library. All other cases are stored away and are inaccessible to the public.

"The library owns a large collection of pictures of Abraham Lincoln, his family and associates. It is the ambition of the officials of this library that the State of Illinois have the greatest collection of Lincolniana in the world. We have absolutely no more room to exhibit such material. Illinois ought not permit any other state, institution or individual to excel it in the collection of historical material relating to her greatest citizen.

"We have material relating to Stephen A. Douglas, Ulysses S. Grant, our Major Generals of the Civil War and of other of our illustrious citizens but we have no room to care for such exhibits.

"Our library is used constantly by students of genealogy and state and western history, but as we have no separate workroom, it is necessary to have the noise of the typewriter constantly going in the room with the student. This is annoying to all readers and unbearable to many. We need room for students who require the use of a large number of books and maps, and we seriously need a workroom and storage-room.

"The Illinois State Historical Library and the State Historical Society issue many historical publications of great value including a quarterly journal or magazine and the annual transactions of the society.

"The work of preparing these volumes, proof-reading, indexing, etc., the wrapping and addressing for the distribution of these volumes must all be done in these small quarters. These conditions create confusion, make working uncomfortable and unsatisfactory and are not conducive to producing the highest efficiency of the workers or the best results from their work.

"Then, too, a lecture-room or assembly room is much needed not only for the Historical Society but for other gatherings.

"This week (April 8-10) the State Bar Association met in this city, and its sessions were held in the State Library. The room was inconvenient, there being no platform for speakers and chairs were brought in, crowding the room, and absolutely putting a stop to the regular work of the library for at least four days. Before the crowded condition of the State House made it necessary to use the old Supreme Court room for the Automobile Department of the Secretary of State's office, that room was used for small conventions, lectures, etc., of departments or societies, which are wholly or partially a part of the State's machinery.

"These are a few of the pressing needs of the Illinois State Historical Library and Society. Wisconsin has a magnificent Historical Society Building. Iowa has a fine new Historical Society Building.

Kansas and Colorado are now building adequate buildings as homes for their Historical Societies. New York is spending millions on its wonderful new Educational Building, and Illinois students are obliged to go far afield to seek the sources of their own history.

"I thank you, sir, and also the Chief Executive of the State for this opportunity of informing you of our most pressing needs.

"The Illinois State Historical Library has for several years been crowded, seemingly to its capacity for expansion, in every branch of its work. When from the fact that our floors were too heavily loaded we were obliged to give up nearly half of our shelving-room, it was a severe blow and a heavy handicap.

"We need at least to devise immediately some plan whereby we may add to our newspaper shelving, and thus make room for other departments of our work.

"We need a workroom and we need an assembly room, which could also be an exhibition room; and we need at least one reference room.

"These needs are pressing. We would gladly show the Governor our overcrowded condition and I think we could convince him that we need immediate relief.

"Very respectfully,
"JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
"Secretary Illinois State Historical Society and Librarian Illinois State Historical Library."

REPORT OF THE GENEALOGICAL COMMITTEE.

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Your Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications had hoped to report that the list of works on genealogy in the Historical Library had been printed, but owing to the delay in publishing the 1912 transactions of the society this has not been done.

It has been decided, however, as long as the volume of the 1912 transactions will be quite full, to publish in a pamphlet form convenient for students, the works on genealogy in the library. This will be issued within a short time and mailed to the members.

We wish to commend to the society the work of Mrs. E. S. Walker, a member of this committee. Mrs. Walker is compiling by counties lists of the Revolutionary soldiers of Illinois buried in the counties of the State. This is being published in the Quarterly Journal of the society, beginning with April, 1912, and continuing with each issue of the Journal. So far the names of soldiers buried in the following counties have been published, namely: Cass, Clark, Greene, Macon, Madison, Menard, Iroquois, Sangamon, Warren. The list from Morgan County it is hoped will be ready for the October Journal.

Mrs. Walker is aided in this work by members of the local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and asks aid of each member of the society. If you know of revolutionary soldiers buried in

country church yards in your locality or elsewhere in the country please notify Mrs. Walker or write us at the library. These names sent in will be added to the list of counties already compiled or those to be published in the Journal.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Chairman of the Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications.

PART II—PAPERS READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1913.

PROGRAM.

THURSDAY MORNING, 9:30 O'CLOCK, MAY 15, 1913.

Directors' meeting in the office of the secretary of the society.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 2:30 O'CLOCK.

STATE LIBRARY.

"A Sketch of the History of the Roman Catholic Church in Illinois," Rev. James J. Howard, D.D., St. Agnes Church, Springfield, Ill.

"The Disciples of Christ in Illinois and their Attitude Toward Slavery," Rev. N. S. Haynes, A.M., Decatur, Ill.

"The History of the Presbyterian Church in Illinois," Rev. Hermon Dutilh Jenkins, D.D.

THURSDAY EVENING, 8:00 O'CLOCK.

SENATE CHAMBER.

Annual Address—"Benjamin Lundy, Pioneer of Freedom," Hon. George A. Lawrence, Galesburg, Ill.

Reception in the State Library, Illinois State Historical Society, assisted by the Springfield Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution.

FRIDAY MORNING, 9:30 O'CLOCK, MAY 16, 1913.

STATE LIBRARY.

Business Meeting of the Society:

Reports of Officers.
Reports of Committees.
Miscellaneous Business.
Election of Officers.

"The Public Archives of Illinois," E. B. Greene, Ph.D., University of Illinois.

"Paul Selby, the Last Survivor of the Editorial Convention of 1856," H. W. Clendenin, Editor Illinois State Register, Springfield, Ill.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, 2:30 O'CLOCK.

SENATE CHAMBER.

"Smith D. Atkins—In Memoriam," Richard V. Carpenter, Belvidere, Ill.

"The Baptists and Slavery in Illinois," Willard C. MacNaull, Department of History, Oberlin College.

"The Slavery Controversy and the Methodist Episcopal Church in Illinois," Rev. John M. Ryan, D.D., Pontiac, Ill.

FRIDAY EVENING, 8:00 O'CLOCK.

SENATE CHAMBER.

"The Lincoln Poor White Legend," Olynthus B. Clark, Ph.D., Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.

"Stephen A. Douglas, the Expansionist," Frank E. Stevens, Editor Dixon Weekly Citizen, Dixon, Ill.

Benjamin Lundy.

A PIONEER OF FREEDOM.

ANNUAL ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY UPON THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF BENJAMIN LUNDY.

(By George A. Lawrence.)

"By Nebo's lonely mountain
On this side Jordan's wave,
In a vale in the land of Moab,
There lies a lonely grave.
But no man dug that sepulcher
And no man saw it e'er,
For the angels of God upturned the sod
And laid the dead man there."

These beautiful lines of Mrs. Alexander's were written of a prophet and pioneer of the far away years; of the man divinely appointed to become the leader of the chosen people; of a man who left behind him all that was alluring in life—wealth, almost kingly power, and a possible life of ease—to undertake the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, to endure the complaints and seditions of those he served, and to meet his death without having entered the promised land, to the very verge of which he brought his followers.

I am privileged to present to you tonight the story of a man which in many respects parallels the career of Moses; of a man who is sepulchered today not upon a "lonely mountain," but upon a hill-top on the banks of Clear Creek, in Putnam County, Illinois. Appreciative nature has covered that sepulcher deep with myrtle, and upon the simple stone which marks the resting place are graven these words:

"BENJAMIN LUNDY
Died August 22, 1839
Age, 50 years, 7 months, 18 days"

Buried in that lonely spot far away from the tumult, toil and struggle of life, there is nothing in name or environment to suggest the character, the achievements, or the deserved fame of the man who lies buried there. Yet he was to his generation a second Moses. Chosen to lead a people out of bondage, for more than twenty-five years he also wandered in the wilderness, leading what seemed to be a forlorn hope. He also died ere his hopes were realized, but he had vitalized agencies that would

soon bring those for whom he had struggled into the promised land. In that lowly grave today rests one whose heroic life, loyal service, and sacrifice almost divine, ought to be emblazoned upon the pages of human history. He lived a life of quietude and peace, but he set in motion forces for human liberty and human fellowship that resulted in the freedom of a race.

In obedience to your most kind invitation, I wish to bring to you, as far as my time will allow, something of this man.

Shall we not first profitably inquire into his times, and the day and generation in which he lived and which he served?

The period from 1800 to 1830 may well be called, in discussing the question of human slavery, a period of stagnation. Slavery, introduced into Virginia in 1619, had fastened itself upon the country, North and South alike. In the North, however, the slaves were used only for domestic purposes, and being the source of neither pleasure nor profit they soon ceased to be a factor in its domestic or political economy. In the South, on the contrary, the milder climate, contributing as it did to the lassitude of the white population, became a fitting environment for the negro.

Yet even there for a century and a half the slave had no special economic significance, and above all, was not a source of any great profit. The Declaration of Independence, and the formal assertion by the thirteen colonies of the rights of man, affected in a great measure the status of the slave, for those sturdy ancestors of ours were logicians as well as patriots. In 1783 slavery was judiciously abolished in Massachusetts, and the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory was another long step forward in the direction of its general abolition. A great world movement, begun in 1794, ended slavery in the French West Indies and several South American Republics, terminating in a similar result in Mexico in 1829, and in the British West Indies in 1833 by Act of Parliament. Slavery had, prior to the revolution in this country, been suffered without comment, rather than endorsed or especially contended for. In the state of New York the first active opposition to it was the organization of anti-slavery societies under the presidency of John Jay in 1785. Two years afterwards Benjamin Franklin led an abolition society in Philadelphia. From that time for a number of years these societies multiplied in both North and South. Abolition was in the air, Slavery in contempt and disgrace. These were the days of the passage of the ordinance of 1787, the creation of the Mason and Dixon line and the abolishment, by other nations, of the slave trade. With its destruction our forefathers hoped that slavery itself would die, and were well content to rest upon their laurels. Our most eminent statesmen from all sections of the country, irrespective of political affiliations, were as apt to be abolitionists in some form or other as to favor slavery. No one was more outspoken in behalf of equal rights than Thomas Jefferson, the leading character of the slave territory in his day. In fact, many of the southern enactments concerning the slave and slavery were decidedly humanitarian in their tendencies, restraining manumission in a measure by an insistence upon the future support of those

who were to be freed. In a general way it may be said that the slave power at that time was that of a giant conscious of his own invulnerability. It did not fear discussion, and did not condemn those opposed to it. The anti-slavery sentiments of leading men, of Randolph, Jefferson, Mason, Nicholas, made no impression whatever upon this autocratic power, ruling as it saw fit for its own interest. Complacent when it saw but little to contend for, with no pro-slavery or anti-slavery sentiment, it offered no obstruction to anti-slavery societies in North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee, fifteen years later. These normal forces were scarce noted in the enormous development of the cotton interest that took place in the early part of the Nineteenth Century. In 1794 the invention of the cotton gin by Whitney revolutionized the status of the slave as affecting the industry of the southern states. Hitherto slavery and negroes had been but a poor investment to the planter, growing out of idle habits and haphazard methods. Had there been no cotton culture, and no cotton gin to make the business active and profitable, it is probable that slavery would have expired in all the states as it did in half of them, under the inspiration of universal liberty which came of the Declaration of Independence and the struggle of the Revolution. But the cotton gin, with the aid of slave labor, made cotton cultivation possible on a greater scale; incited ambitions for wealth, aggrandizement and political power, and became an essential from this standpoint to their future prosperity. It held out the promises of enormous gain. It received a representation based upon slave population and for that purpose demanded an extension of the area of slavery. It was the act of the hitherto sleeping giant awakened to the seductive influences of enormous wealth, and it had the more alluring temptations of supreme political power. The North also was more or less affected by its commercial relation with the South and especially is this true in the case of important commercial centers. There, everywhere, could be found a decided pro-slavery sentiment, ready then and afterwards to foster and encourage its promotion.

It is interesting to note the effect which commercial relations or political ambitions had, or could have, upon the conscience or the conduct of mankind with reference to this question. One naturally looks upon Massachusetts as for rock-ribbed abolition, and upon Virginia as being for slavery, from the very nature of the situation. To illustrate how far from the truth this can be, let me quote from a speech of Edward Everett in Congress about 1834 or '35:

"Sir," said he, addressing the speaker, "I am no soldier. My habits and education are very unmilitary. But there is no cause in which I would sooner buckle a knapsack on my back and put a musket on my shoulder, than that of putting down a servile insurrection at the South. The slaves of this country are better clothed and fed than the peasantry of some of the most prosperous states of Europe. The great relation of servitude, in some form or other, with greater or less departure from the theoretic equality of man, is inseparable from our nature. Domestic slavery is not, in my judgment, to be set down as an immoral or irreligious relation. It is a condition of life as well as any other, to be judged by morality, religion and international law."

And then arose John Randolph of Roanoke, a typical Virginian:

"Sir, I envy neither the head nor the heart of that man from the North who rises here to defend slavery on principle."

Abolitionism, meanwhile, was sitting quietly by with folded hands, all organized opposition at an end. Up to 1814 only three pamphlets of any importance were published anywhere affecting anti-slavery and these advocated progressive emancipation or discussed doctrinal or agricultural questions in connection with slavery.

In this crisis of affairs, aggression, on the one hand, and apathy on the other, who should lead a new crusade against the violators of the Temple of Liberty? Who should become another Moses to lead a people out of bondage into freedom?

He came, not out of kingly court. Not from among the learned, the eloquent, or those of commanding influence, but from the ranks of the humble and the lowly, and with nothing of either physical or educational equipment that would indicate the possibilities of his career.

Benjamin Lundy was born January 4, 1789, the only son of Joseph and Eliza (Shotwell) Lundy, at Handwick, Sussex County, New Jersey. His parents and most of their connections were members of the Society of Friends and came originally from England and Wales. His mother died when he was about five years old. During her life he had been to school and learned to read but little. After his father's second marriage he attended school a few weeks and began to try to write before he was eight years of age. At the age of sixteen he again went to school a short time to learn arithmetic. This was all the schooling he ever had. He writes of himself:

"I had an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and was withal very ambitious, in so much that when my father hired men to work on his farm, I labored with them much too hard for my physical frame, in order to convince them, though I was a mere boy, I could do the work of the largest and strongest of them. By this means I partially lost my hearing and otherwise injured myself."

At the age of nineteen, on account of failing health, he went to Wheeling, Va., where he remained four years and served an apprenticeship at the saddler's trade and worked at it eighteen months as a journeyman. It was there he writes:

"My faculties were developed, my character made known to myself and the principles that have since guided me in my public labor were formed and fixed."

Of his associates he says:

"They were wild, fashionable youths, clever enough, but fond of frivolous sports."

For himself, he

"Resolved to check any unreasonable propensities before it was too late. He kept in his plain dress, attended the regular meetings of his society (the Quakers) and spent most of his time in reading instructive books."

Consider for a moment the geographical position of Wheeling, his residence in these formative years. Located upon the Ohio River, it was the boundary line of the slave territory over which Lundy passed

every week in attendance upon first day service in a free state. The Ohio River was the highway of the slave traffic at that time, which was enormous and enormously profitable. Engaged in developing the new regions of the west and southwest, Kentucky and Missouri were being rapidly settled and Illinois was a future battle ground to be occupied and entrenched, if possible. Virginia, Maryland and the southern states adjoining were the breeding ground for the western market. Here the slaves were collected together, "bunched up" as we would say in cattle phrase today. Chained together under the guard of drivers, to prevent an escape into free states adjoining, they were driven to the Ohio River, placed upon boats at some convenient point and floated down to their destination. Wheeling was the greatest thoroughfare in this traffic in human flesh and Benjamin Lundy saw it in all its enormity. Anticipating by a few years the sensation and resolution of Abraham Lincoln at New Orleans, he formed a resolution then and there that became the determined purpose of his life, and from the accomplishment of which he never wavered. He says:

"My heart was deeply touched at the gross abomination; I heard the wail of the captive, I felt his pang of distress, and the iron entered my soul."

The assistant editor of his closing days, Mr. Z. Eastman, was told in 1839 by Mr. Lundy that as far back as 1808 he was led to make a consecration of his life for the deliverance of the slave. That must have been in the first year of his apprenticeship and his impression must have been immediate as well as profound.

Mr. Lundy left Wheeling in 1812 and returned to Mount Pleasant, Ohio, where he met his future wife. Remaining there for two years engaged at his trade, he returned to his father's home in New Jersey for a stay of eight or ten months. Refusing his father's offer to engage in business there, he returned to St. Clairsville, Ohio, ten miles west of Wheeling, was married and started a business. That he was successful appears from his own statement:

"I began with no other means but my own hands and a disposition for industry and economy. In a little more than four years, however, I found myself in possession of more than $3,000 worth of property, beyond what was necessary to pay the moderate amount I owed. I had then a loving wife and two beautiful children that it was then a real happiness to possess and cherish. I was at peace with my neighbor and knew not that I had an enemy. I had bought a lot and built myself a comfortable house. All my wants and those of my family were fully supplied. My business was increasing and prosperity seemed to smile upon me."

I have quoted this fully that we might all appreciate the extent and completeness of the sacrifice that was to be made. In that period of our national development upon the frontier very much of future wealth and influence was represented in the fact of a permanent home, a united family, and increasing business. The accumulation of a capital of $3,000 within four years at that time, without assistance, was no mean accomplishment and indicated great business capacity. The man who could do this was capable of great things in any undertaking.

May we take a glance at the man himself at that time?

A biographer has said:

"He was slender and slightly under middle size, with light complexion, blue eyes and wavy hair. He was cheerful, unassuming and studious."

An engraving from a portrait by A. Dickenson, published in 1847, reveals a man with a scholarly, dignified face, a mild eye, clad in conventional garb with high collar and choker; one whose appearance would never indicate his rugged nature or his ability for any heroic struggle which should demand the highest capacity for physical, mental and moral fortitude. His portrait is also included as one of a dozen men cited in Greeley's *American Conflict* as eminent opponents of the slave power; compared with the portraits of Joshua Giddings, William Lloyd Garrison, Garret Smith, Charles Sumner, or Owen Lovejoy, Lundy seems mild, indeed, though not effeminate. A water color portrait, however, owned by Susan Maria (Lundy) Wireman, his daughter, who is also buried at Clear Creek Cemetery, has given me a better idea of the real man he was. "Blue eyes and wavy hair" might well describe the man of the engraving I have spoken of. They do not identify the man of the water color portrait. An eye of blue that was bright with the gleam of steel and of fire, an eye that penetrated where it fastened its gaze; scant reddish hair and beard, and a complexion of purest Saxon type gave life and energy and vivacity to the subject which cold black print can never portray; more than all these, there is a certain setting of the jaw which suggests that, which no other portrait contains. Here in this portrait is seen the man to whom so much of heroism, daring and sacrifice has been attributed. Here can be seen the indomitable will, unconquerable spirit and transcendent genius that was necessary to the accomplishment of the work to which he had dedicated himself. The portrait reveals the physical and native resources he possessed. It cannot reveal the added mental and scholarly equipment which his "studious habits with book in hand" had furnished him.

He was now twenty-five years of age, in the midst of the comfort and possibilities he has described. He was now a man with all the responsibilities of a man. What should be his future? Up to that time he had taken no active part in anti-slavery agitation, nor, so far as it can be learned, had it ever influenced the slightest act of his life. I have referred to his life at Wheeling, and in his later years he gave utterance to the reason which prompted his future conduct and controlled his entire career. I quote from his paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation,* at that time printed in Washington, as being the best authority for the reasons that determined him in the change of his entire life. In this journal of November, 1832, he said of Wheeling:

"That was the place where his youthful eye first caught a view of the 'cursed whip' and the 'hellish manacle'—where he first saw the slaves in chains forced along like brutes to the southern markets for human flesh and blood! Then did his young heart bound within his bosom and his heated blood boil in his veins on seeing droves of a dozen or twenty ragged men chained together and driven through the streets bareheaded and barefooted in sun and snow by the remorseless 'soul sellers' with horse whips and bludgeons in their hands! It was

the frequent repetition of such scenes as these in the town of Wheeling, Va., that made the impressions on his mind relative to the slave question which have induced him to devote himself to the cause of Universal Emancipation. During the apprenticeship with a respectable mechanic of that place, he was made acquainted with the cruelties and the despotism of slavery as tolerated in this land; and he made a solemn vow to Almighty God that if favored with health and strength, he would break at least one link of the ponderous chain of oppression when he should become a man."

He had now become a man. The time is now at hand for the fulfillment of his vow, and he says in his autobiography:

"I had lamented the sad condition of the slave ever since I became acquainted with his wrong and suffering, but the question, what can I do? was the continual response to the impulses of my heart. As I enjoyed no peace of mind, I concluded I must act, and shortly after my settlement at St. Clairsville, I called a few friends together and unbosomed myself to them. The result was the organization of an anti-slavery association called the 'Union Humanitarian Society.'"

The first meeting was held at his home and consisted of six persons. In a few months it had grown to nearly five hundred persons, among whom were the most eminent divines, lawyers and citizens of that state.

He also wrote a circular dated January 4, 1816, being his twenty-seventh birthday, which was the first definite announcement of a campaign that ended in the overthrow of slavery. This circular is historic. Its first appearance was in five or six copies in manuscript. At the urgent request of friends and of persons from a distance who met at the yearly meeting in the society of Friends at Mt. Pleasant, this paper was printed and circulated on the condition that it should appear with a fictitious signature. This signature was Philo Justicia. As an introduction, while urging the inadequacy of stopping at the abolition of the African slave trade, when the seeds of the evil system had been sown in our soil and were springing up and producing increase, he proposed:

First—That a society should be formed whenever a number of persons could be induced to join in them.

Second—That a title should be adopted common to all the societies.

Third—They should all have a uniform constitution, "varying only on account of necessity arising from location."

Fourth—That a correspondence should be kept up between the societies, that they should co-operate in action, that in case of important business they should choose delegates to meet in general convention.

This plan is practically the same in efficient operation twenty years afterwards when it embraced one thousand anti-slavery societies. At the conclusion of the address, the writer stated that he had the subject long in contemplation and that he had now taken it up fully determined for one, never to lay it down while he breathed, or until the end should be obtained.

This circular, short and simple as it was, is mentioned by Greeley in his *American Conflict* as "containing the germ of the entire anti-slavery movement."

A local newspaper, *The Philanthropist,* had been established at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and its columns were open to the discussion of

slavery. Lundy became an interested contributor and soon was invited to take part in its editorial work. Soon his articles were upon the editorial page. While he was at work on his saddler's bench, ten miles away, an invitation to become a partner in the business and to remove to Mount Pleasant was accepted, and he proceeded to close out his business for that purpose. In 1819, for the purpose of a better market for his goods, he took the balance of his stock upon a boat, his apprentices plying their trade on board while he steered the boat for St. Louis. Unable to sell his stock at St. Louis by reason of financial depression, he rented a shop and boarded himself and his boy apprentices. Missouri was at that time in the turmoil and excitement of a great political campaign and was knocking at the door for admission to the Union. Every spare moment was devoted by Lundy, in person and through newspaper articles, in Missouri and Illinois, to exposing the evils of slavery. He says, "The contest which was long and severe, terminated in our losing the day." * * * He sold his remaining stock at a ruinous sacrifice and returned home on foot, a journey of seven hundred miles and in the winter season, having been absent a year and ten months.

During his absence, the newspaper had changed hands and was conducted by Elisha Bates, who did not come up to the anti-slavery standards of Lundy. He also learned that Elihu Embree had begun the publication of an anti-slavery paper, *The Emancipator,* at Jonesborough, Tenn. He removed to Mount Pleasant and began the publication of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation,* in January, 1821. The prospectus and first number were published by Elisha Bates. Afterwards the printing was done at Steubenville, Ohio, twenty miles away, Lundy going to and fro on foot, carrying his printed papers on his back. In a few months the subscription list was quite large, but after eight monthly issues, Lundy started for Tennessee to use the Embree press at Jonesborough, Embree having died. It was a journey of eight hundred miles, half on foot and half by water. There, for the first time, he undertook the printers' art and did the mechanical, as well as editorial, work. After a few months, during which considerable opposition and threats of violence developed, he brought his family to Tennessee and resided there for three years. During this time he attended "The American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery" at Philadelphia, a distance of six hundred miles, going and returning on horse back. He was the first delegate from any part of the country as far south as Tennessee to any anti-slavery meeting. Upon his trip he made the acquaintance of some abolitionists east of the Alleghany mountains. The *Genius of Universal Emancipation* had now obtained a considerable circulation. It was the only anti-slavery paper published in America. He concluded to transfer its publication to one of the Atlantic states to secure a wider influence and increased support. Arranging his business and shouldering his knapsack, he set out for Baltimore in 1824. On this trip he delivered his first public lecture and embraced every opportunity of obtaining an audience; at house raisings, musters, and every sort of assemblies, he urged his cause, and in the state of North Carolina alone, while on this journey, twelve or fourteen anti-slavery societies were organized.

The first Baltimore number of the Genius was issued in October, 1824, being No. 1, Vol. IV, and in about a year the publication was changed from a monthly to a weekly. Meanwhile, his wife and family had been removed from Tennessee to Baltimore. In 1825 he made his first trip to the Island of Haiti to establish there a number of slaves who had been freed, and arrange with the Island government for any emancipated slaves that might be sent there. Detained longer than he had anticipated, he returned to Baltimore to find his wife dead and his five children scattered among friends. His obituary notice of his wife's death, published in the Genius, of June 3, 1826, is a most eloquent and touching tribute to her worth. Only a brief quotation can be made, but it is due to this woman that she be credited with her part in his great work. He said of her:

"Whenever it fell to my lot to be called away from home, she uniformly and cheerfully gave her consent thereto; observing that she could not find a freedom in urging anything as a hindrance to the success of my labor in the cause of philanthrophy."

Five children were left motherless, among them twins a few weeks old, and this man, in face of that fact, said:

"I collected my children together and placed them with friends in whom I could confide and renewed my vow to devote my energy to the cause of the slave until the nation should be effectually aroused in its behalf. I relinquished any prospect of future enjoyment of an earthly home until that object should be accomplished."

The publication of the paper was continued at Baltimore, William Swain being added as assistant editor with Elizabeth Chandler, a poet and author of some distinction; both were converts of his lectures and publications, and it is noteworthy that his efforts produced not only converts, but missionaries in his work.

In 1828 a trip was taken to the middle and eastern states for purposes of lectures and subscriptions. At Philadelphia a meeting was called to consider the use of free labor products, the first meeting of the kind ever held in America. This would indicate his intellectual grasp and his conception of the power of a modified boycott, an elaboration of which has become so prominent in the later stages of our national development. It was upon this trip that he met, at Boston, William Lloyd Garrison, who had not yet turned his attention to the slavery question. They met at a boarding house with eight clergymen of various denominations. The ministers all approved of the work and became subscribers to the *Genius.* Garrison also expressed approval of his doctrines. He was at that time the editor of the *National Philanthropist,* the first total abstinence sheet in the world. Truly, here was a scene worthy the brush of the artist. This, in a way, accidental meeting, in an obscure boarding house in Boston, between Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison—the little deaf Quaker and the near-sighted Baptist who was to become the foremost type of militant warfare in the cause he at that moment espoused. "The Signing of the Compact" and "The Landing of the Mayflower" have been immortalized upon the canvas and form two of our great historic pictures. Yet neither of these events was more significant than the one we mention. Here awakened into vitality the conscience and co-operation of

the man who was to assume such prominence in the final overthrow of slavery. Lundy's word had been good seed and it had fallen upon good ground. The mild Quaker had lighted a flame that was never extinguished. The history of abolitionism shows us two fire-brands, John Brown and William Lloyd Garrison. But Garrison was the first and more significant influence and very likely was responsible for the attitude of the other.

In November, 1828, Lundy again visited Boston and invited Garrison to assist him in editing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation,* but the latter was at that time editing a paper in Vermont from which he could not free himself. Meanwhile the paper was successfully published and free produce stores were opened in Baltimore and Philadelphia where nothing the product of slave labor was handled. The editorial position was full of dangers. A single example will suffice to illustrate them:

"There was in Baltimore a slave-trader by the name of Austin Woolfolk, notorious for the heartless brutality with which he carried on his wretched business. He sent a gang of twenty-nine slaves on a boat to Georgia. When at sea the slaves rose for their liberty, murdered the captain and mate, reached New York City and escaped—all except one, who was caught and hung. When led to the place of execution, the condemned negro, according to the custom of those days, was allowed to make some remarks expressing his penitence. Woolfolk, who was present, interrupted the unfortunate man with oaths and abusive language and would not desist until compelled to do so by the indignant spectators. An account of this disgusting spectacle was published in the *New York Christian Inquirer,* and reprinted by Lundy in the *"Genius."*

Soon after this, Woolfolk met Lundy near the post-office in Baltimore, caught him by the throat, threw him upon the pavement, choked him until he was nearly unconscious, and then stamped on his head and face with the heel of his boot. Woolfolk was arrested and tried for assault and battery. The jury found Woolfolk guilty; and the judge, in whose discretion the penalty was, sentenced him to pay a fine of one dollar. The judge said from the bench that Lundy got nothing more than he deserved, and he took the copy of the *"Genius"* containing the objectionable article and sent it to the grand jury, charging them to indict Lundy for libel, which they refused to do."

In the spring of 1829 another trip was made to Haiti with a small colony of emancipated slaves and leases of land obtained for them on easy terms. Upon his return in September, 1829, Lundy announced in the *Genius* the association of Garrison in his editorship. This move was not a fortunate one. Garrison espoused the cause of Henry Clay against Jackson, while Lundy had no confidence in Clay upon the slavery question. Subscriptions fell off when politics and sectarianism supplanted in any degree the question for which Lundy alone stood. Garrison, moreover, did not possess the gift of using strong language just outside the law of libel that Lundy had, and was soon behind grates and bars and obliged to pay a fine, money for which was obtained in New York by Lundy. But Lundy himself was in turn arrested as co-editor and imprisoned for several days. The particulars of this incident are told

in the life of Garrison, and of the time he was in jail, which was forty-nine days, he says:

"The sun itself was not more regular day by day during that period in visiting my cell with its cheering light than was my friend Lundy. His sympathy, kindness and attention were all that a brother could show."

The partnership was a short one. This plan of the two joining to shake the sleepy nation to consciousness had to be abandoned. Garrison went to Boston with the inspiration of a Baltimore jail upon him, most terribly in earnest; an intellectual and moral lion aroused to work in his own way in the path laid out for him. Lundy was left to plod his accustomed way alone. At this point, for the first time, Lundy, in his paper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation,* after regretting the loss of the help of his friend, states his own case, and it were well to perpetuate it here:

"Nine years have nearly elapsed since this work first made its appearance. During that period I have witnessed many vicissitudes in the affairs of life; have experienced something of the fickleness of fortune and a good share of what the world calls hardship and privation."

Then he tells of the great difficulties he encountered in getting out his monthly paper, his desires to publish it weekly, his hopes of the future, his patience and unflinching determination shown in every line. He goes on:

"I do not wish to speak boastingly of what I have done or essayed to do in advocating the question of African emancipation, and I detest the idea of making a cringing appeal to the public for aid in my undertakings. I am willing to work, and can support myself and family by my own labor. But, after ten years' struggle to promote the cause to the best of my humble abilities and in every possible manner, it may not be amiss to inform those who take an interest in this publication that I have, within the period above mentioned, sacrificed several thousand dollars of my own hard earnings; have traveled upward of 5,000 miles on foot, and more than 20,000 in other ways; have visited nineteen of the states of this Union, and held more than 200 public meetings, with the view of making known our object, etc., and, in addition to this, have performed two voyages to the West Indies, by which means the liberation of a considerable number of slaves has been effected, and, I hope, the way paved for the enlargement of many more. What effect this work has had in turning the attention of the public to the subject of the abolition of slavery, it would not become me to say. * * * There is not another periodical work published by a citizen of the United States, whose conductor dare treat upon the subject of slavery as its nature requires and its importance demands, and, viewing the matter in this light, I shall persevere in my efforts, as usual, while the means of doing it are afforded, or until more efficient advocates of the cause shall make themselves known."

In resuming control of the paper Lundy announced that the *Genius* would hereafter treat exclusively upon the subject of emancipation. The paper had now fallen upon evil days. Subscriptions failed and it was changed from a weekly to a monthly sheet. It soon became necessary for Lundy himself to leave Baltimore and the *Genius* was moved to Wash-

ington and that city became the nominal place of its publication. It also became necessary for Lundy to travel to secure subscriptions, leaving the paper in the hands of a temporary editor. A few numbers would be published and then publication cease for lack of funds. Lundy, hearing of this, would prepare manuscript on the road and print the next number where he happened to be. He could secure a printing press at almost any point. The type he found it more convenient to carry with him, possibly upon his back.

The founding of Garrison's *Liberator* in Massachusetts, and the breaking out of the "Nat Turner Rebellion" in Virginia, hastened the failure of the *Genius*. The one, although working along the same lines, was necessarily to some extent a rival, and the Turner outbreak was fatal to all abolition societies of the south which furnished many subscribers. The story of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is now shortly told. Removed to Washington in 1830, it was printed there until 1834, sometimes consecutively for months, when it made its last removal to Philadelphia, expiring there in 1838 amid the flames of Pennsylvania Hall, which was burned by a mob in June of that year.

Just a word as to its appearance. I quote from the words of Mr. Z. Eastman, who was with Lundy at Lowell, Ill., at the time of his death, in the capacity of printer and assistant editor:

"I well remember the editorial, 'Vignette.' It seemed to have been quite a pet of Mr. Lundy's. I think it was of his own designing. It was not quite clear to me what truth was to be inferred from it. Mr. Lundy once explained it minutely. It represented a scene in a garden. There was in the back ground a sort of miniature square tower with a seat at the bottom. There was nothing in this country like it. Over it were trailing vines. Nearby, dragging a chain and holding a spade in hand, was a white man with depressed appearance. By his side stands a man, possibly putting some question to the slave held by the chain. He looks like a philosopher or Doctor of Divinity, it is impossible to tell which. He is evidently inquiring of this white slave 'Why is this?' It was not a strange question if our own color were in that condition. Mr. Lundy would have had it asked, even of the black man also doomed to drag the ball and chain. Mr. Lundy's paper, besides that piercing motto 'Justicia fiat, ruat coelum,' also carried on its front this motto, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, in which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The historical value of Lundy's paper, beginning in 1821 and practically ending in 1830-34, can hardly be estimated. It is the repository of all plans for the abolition of slavery, of all laws, opinions, arguments, essays, speeches, poems, views, statistics, constitutions of societies, manumissions, congressional proceedings, book notices, pamphlets, colonization efforts, political movements, in short, it included everything that could throw light upon or affected the question of slavery here or elsewhere. It had taken part in the historic campaign of 1824 in Illinois, where an attempt was made to fasten slavery upon this State, and was a factor in what was, everything considered, the hardest fought political campaign ever waged in Illinois. Speaking of this campaign through newspaper

and pamphlets widely disseminated, I have before me a pamphlet called *"Impartial Appeal to the Reason, Justice and Patriotism of the People of Illinois and the Injurious Effects of Slave Labor."* This little brochure, published anonymously in Philadelphia and used in the Illinois campaign, bears every token of being the work of Benjamin Lundy. It applies to the economic side of the question and repeats many arguments, purely his, found elsewhere. It is noteworthy as bearing upon our subject that it was reprinted in London, and used in connection with the struggle for the abolishment of slavery in the West Indies, and I found the little book in London. So we may well claim that this humble Quaker contributed also to that work in no small degree.

Time forbids to speak of the literary character of the *Genius,* its trenchant English, modes of emphasis and telling invective. With but the scanty preparation spoken of at the outset, Lundy became a great master of English in both style and expression, nor was he lacking in sentiment and poetry. Let me quote a single verse, being one of a number sent his sister after informing her of the birth of his second daughter and their decision to call her Elizabeth:

> "Here let me pause, the Muse in accent clear
> Repeats the name that memory holds most dear,
> My mother, it was thine—blest spirit see
> Thy son, thy only son, remembers thee."

Leaving for a time his journalistic work, permit me to call your attention to another phase of his many sided plans for abolition. I have suggested the two trips to Haiti, each time with a number of slaves that he located there. Lundy was unique as an abolitionist in this. He was willing to do for the time being the best that could be done. Garrison had the one idea of immediate emancipation, so had Goodell. Lundy possessed that idea with equal fervidness, but pending its success wished to have something done and that without delay. With this thought in mind he sought to colonize emancipated slaves and free blacks upon territory contiguous to the United States, and upon lands which were not only to provide for them a home, and comply with some State laws as to voluntary emancipation, but would furnish a concrete illustration of the safety and profitableness of the "Emancipation on the Soil" theory. With this in mind he made two journeys to Texas, then a part of Mexico, the first in 1830-31, beginning in the winter. A large portion of a biography published by his children in 1847 is taken up with the account of these trips. He says of them, "My labors were most arduous." The story is one of poverty, privation and danger; at times in disguise; cholera raging everywhere; working at his trade to get the means for a scanty livelihood; when this did not offer, in making suspenders and shot pouches for those who would buy. The purpose of this trip was to establish a settlement of colored people in Texas with the view of the cultivation of sugar, cotton and rice by free labor. The first trip lasted eighteen months and involved much diplomacy with the Mexican Government to obtain the land, but owing to disturbing conditions was without avail and he returned home in 1833. In May, 1834, he again started on a similar errand, this time not disguising his name, and several times

nearly lost his life. In October of that year sorry times certainly were upon him. His notes in his journal of October 7 show that he had spent his last cent for provisions and "was reading the 'Letters of Junius' to beguile his thoughts." On the 15th of October he writes: "I must move in some direction shortly even if I must as a last resort, fast, beg or starve." His narrative as a whole shows close habits of observation, and unbounded resource and diplomacy in approaching the authorities seeking the grant of land. In this quest he was successful and obtained from the Government of Taumaulipas a grant of 138,000 acres of land, conditioned upon introducing two hundred and fifty settlers with their families. This grant, however, came to naught, by reason of the revolution in Texas which followed, and the years of privation and absence went for nothing. It did accomplish, however, in another way a great and telling result.

Better than any other American, Lundy had become acquainted with the Texan country. He knew its extent and the number and kind of its inhabitants and it was he who furnished to John Quincy Adams the facts upon which the sturdy fight was made in the United States Congress against the admission of Texas, and the subsequent acts that led to the war with Mexico. It is not a part of our theme to discuss what part in this war with Mexico the question of slavery played, but this may be said, that no one person did more to furnish the opponents of slavery with weapons against the admission of Texas or the war with Mexico than he.

A pamphlet issued in 1836, of sixty-four double columns printed in small type, reveals him in the fullness of his intellectual activity and development. It was entitled, "War in Texas, a Review of Facts and Circumstances, Showing That This Contest is a Crusade Against Mexico, Set on Foot and Supported by Slave Holders, Land Speculators, etc., in Order to Re-establish, Re-extend and Perpetuate the System of Slavery and Slave Trade." It was signed by "A Citizen of the United States." This pamphlet is a masterly review of the situation from the standpoint of those opposed to the acquisition of Texas to become a part of the United States. It is a scathing arraignment of all engaged either in the conquest of Texas or its admission to the Union; brims with quotations from southern journals, and southern speeches to make clear his claim of conspiracy, all presented in a forceful and convincing way; it furnished to John Quincy Adams the material upon which he based his opposition in Congress to the admission of Texas as a state, and did no other writing of his exist, this pamphlet would distinguish Mr. Lundy not only as a consecrated and determined missionary, but as a master of polemic literature, inferior to none of his day. The struggle was not successful; the enemy was too strong and too well intrenched, but the admission of Texas was delayed for years thereby, and opportunity given to strengthen the abolition forces against the greater conflict now inevitable and almost in sight. May I place upon your records the concluding paragraphs of this great pamphlet which I do not find to have been quoted elsewhere:

"Our countrymen in fighting for the Union of Texas with the United States will be fighting for that which at no distant day will inevitably dissolve the Union. The slave states having the eligible

addition to their land of bondage, will ere long cut asunder the Federal tie and confederate a new and slave holding Republic in opposition to the whole free Republic of the north. Thus early will be fulfilled the prediction of the old politicians of Europe that our Union could not remain one century entire; and then also will the maxim be exemplified in history that liberty and slavery cannot long inhabit the same soil.

"Citizens of the free states: Are you prepared to sanction the acts of such freebooters and usurpers? Nay more: Are you willing to be made the instruments of these wantom aggressors, in effecting their unholy purposes, and thus not only excite the sympathizing maledictions of other human powers, but also invoke the awful judgments of Heaven against you? Some of our wisest statesmen have spoken out, in condemnation of their deeds; and the patriotic conductors of the press are likewise beginning to awaken the public attention to them.

"You see that they are now fully resolved to make a speedy application to Congress, for the incorporation of the government which they have thus assumed into the confederation of the United States. This will be attempted the very moment that an opportunity is presented. People of the north! Will you permit it? Will you sanction the abominable outrage; involve yourselves in the deep criminality, and perhaps the horrors of war, for the establishment of slavery in a land of freedom; and thus put your necks and the necks of your posterity under the feet of the domineering tyrants of the south, for centuries to come? The great moral and political campaign is now fairly opened. Your government has fully espoused the cause of these land-pirates and free-booters. Can you still remain silent, and thus lend your sanction to the unparalleled and Heaven-daring usurpation? With deep anxiety, I await your response; and trust it will come in the loudest tones of a thundering Negative, resounding o'er your granite mountains, and echoing through every valley north of 'Mason and Dixon's Line.'

"You have been warned, again and again, of the deep machinations, and the wicked aggressive policy of this despotic "Slave-holding Party." I have unfolded its marauding designs, and pointed out its varied plans and movements. You would not listen to these earnest entreaties and admonitions. You have slumbered in the arms of political harlots, until they have nearly shorn you of your locks, and bound you with the bloody cords prepared by the Phillistine horde of tyrannical desperadoes. Arise! Arise quickly! and burst those bands, or your doom, with that of your posterity, is sealed perhaps forever."

Let me call especial attention to the prophecy of a "dissolution of the Union" and the confederation of a new and slave-holding Republic. I know of no earlier prophecy and it is noteworthy that when formed, it was called the confederacy.

I have gathered the story of this man largely from the diary he kept. He seeks there to prepare for himself no page in history. It is the simple story of resolve, effort and accomplishment. But he has a permanent place in history and may I be allowed to record a few brief extracts from various tributes to him?

"Any one who will examine John Quincy Adams' speech on Texas, in 1838, will see that he was only seconding the full and able exposure of the Texas plot, prepared by Benjamin Lundy, to one of whose pam-

phlets Dr. Channing in his 'letter to Henry Clay' has confessed his obligation. Every one acquainted with those years will allow that the North owes its earliest knowledge and first awakening on that subject to Mr. Lundy who made long journeys and devoted years to the investigation. His (Lundy's) labors have this attestation that they quickened the zeal and strengthened the hands of such men as Adams and Channing. I have been told that Mr. Lundy prepared a brief for Mr. Adams and furnished him the materials for his "Speech on Texas."—Speech of Wendell Phillips, Boston, January 27, 1853.

"The immediate precursor and in a certain sense the founder of abolitionism was Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker, born in New Jersey. * * * In 1821 he began to publish the *'Genius of Universal Emancipation,'* which is to be considered the first abolition organ. * * * The Nineteenth Century can scarcely point to another instance in which the commandment of Christ to 'leave all things and follow Him' was so literally construed * * *."—Von Holst's History of the United States, Vol. 2, pages 81-82.

"Nor is that pioneer of freedom, Benjamin Lundy, to be forgotten. It was his lot to struggle for years almost alone, a solitary voice crying in the wilderness; poor, unaided, yet never despairing, traversing the Island of Haiti, wasting with disease in New Orleans, hunted by Texan banditti, wandering on foot among the mountains of East Tennessee and along the Ozark Hills, beaten down and trampled on by Baltimore slave dealers; yet amidst all, faithful to his one great purpose, the emancipation of the slaves and the protection of the free people of color. To him we owe under Providence the enlistment of William Lloyd Garrison in the service which he has so nobly performed."—Letter of John G. Whittier, dated Amesbury, Massachusetts, March, 1874.

"I trust that the memory and labors of Benjamin Lundy will be especially remembered and honored at this reunion gathering. To him I owe my connection with the cause of emancipation, as he was the first to call my attention to it, and by his pressing invitation to me to join him at printing and editing the *'Genius of Universal Emancipation'* at Baltimore, he shaped my destiny for the remainder of my life."—Letter of William Lloyd Garrison to Eastman, March, 1874.

More than five pages of Greeley's *American Conflict* are devoted to the life and service of Mr. Lundy and he concludes with these fitting words:

"Thus closed the record of one of the most heroic, devoted, unselfish lives that has ever been lived on this continent."—*The American Conflict,* pages 111-115.

"Mr. Garrison writes of Mr. Lundy in the *Journal of the Times,* Burlington, Vt., December 12, 1828:

"Instead of being able to withstand the tide of public opinion, it would seem at first doubtful whether he could sustain a temporary conflict with the winds of Heaven. And yet, he has explored nineteen states out of the twenty-four, from the Green Mountains of Vermont to the banks of the Mississippi, multiplying anti-slavery societies in every quarter, putting every petition in motion relative to the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia, everywhere awakening the slumbering sympathies of the people and beginning a work, the completion of which

will be the salvation of his country. His heart is of gigantic size. Every inch of him is alive with power. He combines the meekness of Howard and the boldness of Luther. No reformer was ever more devoted, zealous, persevering or sanguine. He has fought single-handed against a host without missing a blow, or faltering a moment, but his forces are rapidly gathering and he will yet save our land. It should be mentioned, too, that he has sacrificed several thousand dollars in this holy cause, accumulated by unceasing industry. Yet he makes no public appeal, but goes forward in the quietude and resolution of his spirit, husbanding his little resources from town to town and from state to state. He said to me some months ago, 'I would not exchange my circumstances with any person on earth if I thereby must relinquish the cause in which I am enlisted.' Within a few months he has traveled 2,400 miles, of which upwards of 1,600 have been on foot, during which time he has held nearly 500 public meetings. Rivers and mountains vanish in his path. Midnight finds him on his solitary way over an unfrequented road. The sun is anticipated in his rising. Never was a moral sublimity better illustrated."

But I must hasten to the conclusion of this eventful life. He had, following the assassination of Lovejoy, determined to move to Illinois and print an abolition paper here if it led to a bloody grave. His little property consisting of books, papers and Quaker clothing, and a complete file of his *Genius of Universal Emancipation,* were, preparatory to his departure, stored in "Pennsylvania Hall," a building erected for the cause of freedom at Philadelpha. On May 17, 1838, it was destroyed by the torch of a mob and all of his property, with the brain work of twenty years, went up in flames.

In July he started for Illinois and planned to re-establish the *Genius* here. His relatives lived at Magnolia, in Putnam County, and he selected Hennepin, the county seat, as his place of publication. The paper was dated at Hennepin, but printed at Lowell, where some friends had purchased an old press and worn out type. Lowell was then a city of the future, with a large stone mill in process of erection, with city lots to sell and some to give away. Now scarce a vestige remains of the place. The paper was mailed at Vermilionville, across the Vermilion River, and not far away. A building 12 feet square was the printing office and a two-room house just behind was the dwelling. The twins, now twelve years old, were with him and his daughter, Esther, his little housekeeper. In the spring of 1839 three or four issues were printed. John Lovejoy, a brother of the martyr, came to his assistance as a helper, but he was not a printer. In the spring of 1839 Mr. Z. Eastman, a printer, joined him and may I use his words in describing the end:

"We all worked in that little office for a few weeks. Lundy seemed very happy. He had some confidential talk with me, when I told him it would become necessary for me soon to return to the East. He spoke of dividing with me his town-lots in Lowell, and of giving me a share of the broad prairie on which he had squatted; but the proposition did not seem flattering. He was taken ill a day or two after; he wrote a sentence as an apology for lack of editorial, in which he said, 'We shall soon be better.' He went to his bed at the tavern the next day, and the day

following, about eleven o'clock at night, being told by the physician that he was near his end, stated that he felt perfectly easy, and in a few moments fell into a sweet sleep, that of a child pillowed upon its mother's bosom; but it was his last sleep. I saw that peaceful death. I wrote the obituary notice that appeared in the same paper with his last editorial words, in which he said he should soon be better. His friends, without display, in the simple, plain style of their religious faith, carried him away, for burial. I suppose no colored man in this world knows where they laid him."

The last statement is not true certainly at this day. Last summer my wife and I drove to the little cemetery in a car driven by a negro chauffeur. We stood at the grave of Lundy and it occurred to us that it would be a matter of interest to the colored man to see the grave of the man who struck the first blow for the freedom of his race. We called him to the spot and told him in a few words of the man who lay buried there. I have spoken of the wealth of myrtle upon the grave, and I saw the young negro quietly place some sprigs of it in his purse. I asked him what he wanted to do with them. He replied that he wanted to send them to his sister at Tuskegee. Then I thought, Oh that the man who lay so quietly there could see this act, and could know that from his grave, perhaps from his very bones, had sprung the tokens that carried a brother's message to the negro in his better estate, with the opportunities at hand for which he had lived and suffered and died. Surely if that message wrought its perfect work, it would tell to that people, to whom his life had opened such opportunity, of the heroic self-sacrifice that had made freedom and opportunity possible to them.

He, like Moses, did not live to enter the promised land, but the people for whom he labored have entered into it.

May I not fittingly close this address by quoting the last verse of Mrs. Alexander's poem with which I began:

"O lonely tomb in Moab's land!
O dark Beth-peor's hill!
Speak to these curious hearts of ours,
And teach them to be still.
God hath His mysteries of grace,—
Ways that we cannot tell;
He hides them deep, like the secret sleep
Of him He loved so well."

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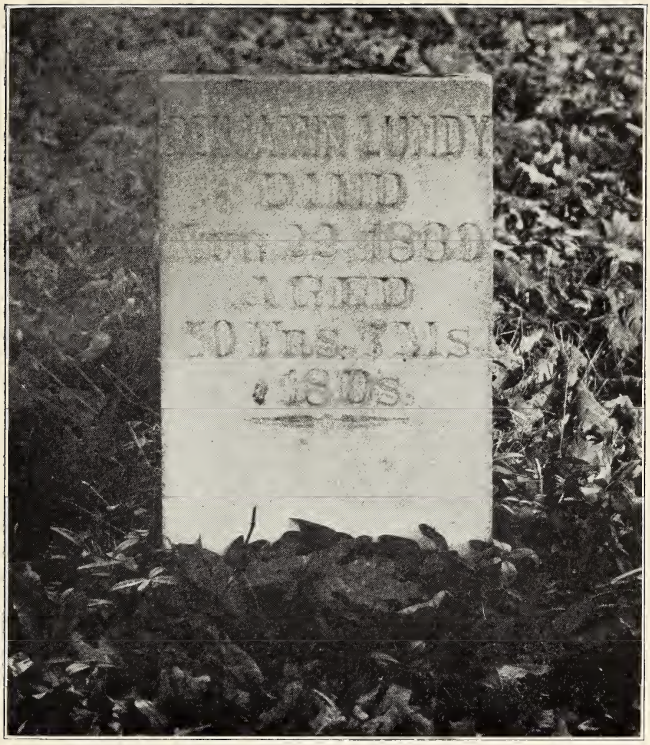

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THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST IN ILLINOIS AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD SLAVERY.

(Rev. N. S. Haynes, Decatur.)

The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed a widespread revolt against human authority, both Papal and Protestant, in religion. Many men in many places came to see that God alone can be Lord of the conscience. Everywhere these reformers, protesting against the creeds of councils and the dogmas of fallible men, appealed to the Bible alone. Everywhere their aim was the emancipation of the church from the bondage of human traditions and rule. This movement first focalized in the religious body known as the Christian denomination. For many years they were called New Lights but since they have never recognized this name it is unfair to so designate them.

Minister James O'Kelly withdrew from the M. E. Church during its first General Conference held in Baltimore in 1792. In his earlier years he was a classmate of Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry. He was a popular preacher and an old presiding elder from Virginia. He urged upon the conference the right of those preachers, who thought themselves injured by the appointment of the bishops, to appeal to the general body then in session. His appeal was in vain. Many individuals and local congregations, either in mass or in part, seceded with him. Appealing for popular favor to the public spirit of the time, they for a few years called themselves Republican Methodists.

At the close of the eighteenth century, Dr. Abner Jones resided at Hartland, Vt. He was a regular Baptist but he was especially averse to human creeds which he regarded as walls separating the followers of our Lord. And sectarian names grieved him much. In those years when a man of God got a new thought he was compelled to get a new church to put it in. So Dr. Jones organized a church at Lynden, Vt., in 1802 with twenty-five members, another church the same year at Hanover, N. H., and a third at Pierpont, N. H., in 1803.

About that time Elias Smith, then a Baptist minister, was preaching with great success in Portsmouth, N. H. He fell in with Abner Jones and soon the church under his care was led to adopt the principles and position of the Christians.

Barton W. Stone, a learned and eloquent minister, withdrew from the Presbyterian Church in 1804 and became very actively identified with the Christian denomination.

Thus there arose simultaneously in the East, South, and West congregations that wished to be known simply as Christians. These were remote from one another and without a knowledge of one another's work. They urged the all-sufficiency of the scriptures as the rule of

faith and life, the democracy of the local church, Christian character as the test of fellowship and the name Christian to the exclusion of all denominational names.

Those years were particularly auspicious for the proclamation of such Christian truths. Beginning in the last days of the eighteenth century with the Presbyterians in Tennessee and Kentucky and continuing to near the close of 1801 there was a most extraordinary revival of religion. Caneridge, Ky., was its center—its circumference was almost the outer bounds of the nation. Its slogan was "the Bible Our Rule of Faith and Practice." Many thousands turned to the Lord. Consecrated lives testified to the genuineness of their conversion. Its impressions were deep and its influences abiding.

That revival was the John the Baptist of the movement inaugurated within less than two decades thereafter by the Disciples of Christ. This also had its beginning in various localities—East, West, and South. It came neither from the Biblical research nor thought of any one man. It was not accidental but Providential. Its members approached the Bible "with all readiness of mind, examining the scriptures daily."

It is believed by many that Alexander Campbell was the founder of the religious body known as the Disciples of Christ. This is a mistake and the abundant and incontestible facts of history prove it to be such. It was at least a decade after the beginnings of this movement in various places that Mr. Campbell became the champion and later the most powerful advocate of those principles of Christian truth which differentiate the Disciples from all other religious bodies. This last fact was the occasion that led many uninformed people to call those with whom Mr. Campbell found himself to be in full accord "Campbellites." But this to the Disciples, has always been an offensive nickname. Now it is no longer in use except in some back precincts where the trees grow tall and the brush thick, and hence the light of intelligence is slow in penetrating.

William Barney came into what is now Wabash County and settled about eight miles north of the site of Mount Carmel in 1808. His family then consisted of himself and wife and the following children: George, William, Richard, James, Betsy, Jane, Sarah, Clara and Ann.Shortly afterward Mr. Barney's three sons-in-law with their wives and children also came. It is plain that this was a real Rooseveltian and patriotic family. Other settlers followed. Three forts for protection against the Indians in the locality were built.

Seth Gard came into this settlement in 1813. In 1814 he was a representative in the third territorial legislature and in 1818 was a member of the convention that framed the Constitution for the State. Evidently Mr. Gard was one of the leading citizens of that section. He, with Minister James Pool and others, on the 17th day of July, 1819, organized the Barney's Prairie Christian Church. Seth Gard was elected elder and Joseph Wood, deacon. His grandson, O. H. Wood, now residing in that locality, has in his keeping the original book containing the record of his transaction. He is in his sixty-eighth year, has been a member of the congregation over fifty years and affirms that from its

beginning the Barney's Prairie Church has always stood on apostolic ground. This congregation has had an unbroken and useful life for ninety-six years.

Stephen England settled near the site of Cantrall, Sangamon County, in 1819. He was a native of Virginia but grew to manhood in Kentucky. He was a Baptist preacher but was acquainted with Barton W. Stone before coming to Illinois. Here he was never known as a Baptist minister. Shortly after settling here he invited the people to come to his cabin for public worship. That the people were soul-hungry is indicated by the fact that two women walked two miles to the meeting through prairie grass as high as their heads. On May 15, 1820, he constituted in his own house the first Church of Christ in Sangamon county. In all, there were nine members whose name have come down to us. From that date to this it has always been known as the Church of Christ or Antioch Christian Church. When the village of Cantrall was laid out in the sixties, the place of meeting was moved there and the local designation was changed from Antioch to Cantrall. In the fall of 1826 the Little Grove Church of Christ, located six miles east of Paris, was constituted by Minister Samuel McGee. Two sisters, Mrs. Mary Morrison and Mrs. Anna Fitzgerald, who had come from Kentucky, were the leaders in the formation of this congregation. From the first it was called "The Little Grove Church of Christ." It still lives.

Ebenezer Rhodes was born in Holland in 1780. He came to America, and in 1824 to McLean County, settling in Blooming Grove, five miles south of Bloomington. He was a Baptist preacher and married the first couple in that county. Reuben Carlock was a native of Overton County, Tenn. He came to Illinois in October, 1827, and settled in Dry Grove, five miles southwest of the site of the present town of Carlock. Minister William Brown, a Christian preacher ,came to visit his friend, Reuben Carlock, in 1828. In August of that year Mr. Carlock yoked his ox team to his wagon and accompanied by some members of his family and his guest, preacher Brown, drove to the cabin of Ebenezer Rhodes for a three days' meeting. Then and there a little church was constituted. Whereupon the recognized leader, Ebenezer Rhodes, said, "And now, brethren, we must have some articles of faith." Then Reuben Carlock, drawing a small copy of the New Testament from his pocket and holding it up said, "Brother Rhodes, this book has all the articles of faith we need." Mr. Rhodes at once and in full assurance answered, "That is true." Thereafter he was known as a Christian minister and continued to preach the gospel without the mixture of human traditions until his death in 1842. That little congregation was simply a church of Christ.

In 1815, "Christian Settlement" was founded in Lawrence County, seven miles northwest of Vincennes, Ind. It was made up of members of the Christian denomination. For ninety-eight years that country community has been remarkable for its industry, sobriety, thrift and high ideals. In 1828 the church there came fully to apostolic grounds.

The first sermon ever preached in Hittle's Grove, near what became the town site of Armington, was by a Methodist minister named Walker, but he did not form a class. This and other public meetings for worship were held in the log cabin of Michael Hittle. After a time two women

wished to be baptized and a Baptist minister, probably Ebenezer Rhodes, was sent for. Finding no church there to vote on the fitness of the candidates after deliberation it was decided to immerse them on the public confession of their faith in Christ. Thereupon a Baptist church was constituted with seven members. On January 11, 1829, this congregation was reorganized on the following basis: "We, the undersigned, do give ourselves to the Lord and to each other as a church of Jesus Christ to be governed by this word contained in the Old and New Testament." This agreement to constitute a church of Christ, was signed by seventeen persons. The church has had an unbroken life to the present time.

In 1829 a church was constituted in the southern part of Marion County. It was known as the Mt. Moriah Free Will Baptist Church. In 1837 its members dropped the words "Free Will Baptist" and substituted for them "Christian" and since then to this date it has been known as "The Mt. Moriah Christian Church."

From an old original record book the following is taken: "April 30, 1831, the Church of Christ on Cedar Fork of Henderson River, Warren County, was constituted upon the belief that the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the word of God, and the only rule of faith and practice, and are sufficient for the government of the church. The location was one and a half miles northwest of the present town of Cameron. This was probably the first church of Christ in the Military Tract. Some of its families became representative in that part of the State and elsewhere.

The second Sunday in July, 1831, Minister John B. Curl constituted the "Bear Creek" Church in Adams County and also the "Mill Creek" Church in the same county before the close of the year. Mr. Curl labored diligently through all that section of the State and three or four other congregations were formed about the same time.

Bushrod W. Henry was a native of Culpepper County, Virginia. He came to Illinois and settled in Shelbyville in 1830. He was then twenty-five years of age. He was a Baptist preacher and a man of superior mental endowments and magnificent personality. In July, 1831, he constituted the "First Baptist Church of Christ in Shelbyville." Within one year he was preaching clearly those Biblical truths commonly held and taught by the Disciples. In 1834 Mr. Henry, with those of like views with him, were summarily expelled from the Baptist church. Then the congregation in Shelbyville dropped the name "Baptist" and has since then been known as the Church of Christ. Mr. Henry has two sons living: Judge W. B. Henry, of Vandalia, and Minister J. O. Henry, of Findley. The latter is eighty-six years old. He was a comrade of Richard J. Oglesby in the 4th Ill. Infantry during the Mexican War. Ever afterward they were fast friends until "Uncle Dick" passed over the great divide. Mr. Henry clearly and positively affirms that his father was not assisted by any one except his wife in reaching his conclusions on the teachings of the scriptures. That together, they, husband and wife, reverently and faithfully read themselves out.

By 1832 there began to be some general unity of thought and action among the widely separated disciples in their efforts to restore the church after the New Testament pattern—in its teachings, its ordinances and

its life; so in this year a number of local churches had their beginnings. Most of these still live and have been forceful factors in building society.

The church in Jacksonville had its beginning in that year. Several Christian families came to Morgan County from Kentucky in 1830 and 1831. Fourteen families of Disciples, then called Reformers, by many, met together regularly that winter for public worship. In the summer of 1831 Josephus Hewett settled five miles east of Jacksonville. He was the first regular preacher of the Disciples in that section.

James Green and Harrison W. Osborne of the Christian Denomination were in that locality at that time. They preached in the courthouse and in schoolhouses as they had opportunity. In 1832 there were good-sized nuclei of Disciples and members of the Christian Denomination in and around Jacksonville. It was in this year that the scholarly and pious Barton W. Stone came from Kentucky into "the Far West" as Illinois was then called. The reputation of this good man had preceded him, for he was an active factor in the Caneridge revival in 1800 whose influences and glory became more enduring than the stars. Mr. Stone made a tour through the Prairie State preaching at Lawrenceville, Carrollton, Rushville, Springfield, Jacksonville and other places. He believed in and labored for the union of all God's people. At Jacksonville he laid his strong but tender hand upon the two separated bodies and left them united in one. This was in October, 1832.

A similar result was effected at Carrollton a few days later. It may be properly noted here that the Disciples of Christ absorbed the larger part of the Christian Denomination, not only in Illinois but elsewhere. However, the latter body still lives. The appeal of both parties was to the Bible as the only recognized authority in religion, and in this way many of the latter concluded that the Disciples were nearer the divine standard than themselves.

The church at Winchester was formed December 1, 1832.

The old Union Church, located about ten miles west of Clinton, was constituted October 13, the second Sunday, 1832. It was formed with seventeen charter members under the spreading branches of a large white oak tree whose decaying stump marks the spot. This with the gravestones in the cemetery that grew around the house of worship are silent sentinels of faded joys and departed glory. Hughes Bowles was the leader there. He was a product of the Caneridge, Ky., revival as were those associated with him in this beginning. His son, Walter P. Bowles, became the best known and most powerful preacher of his time in that section. He and Abraham Lincoln were familiar friends and long before the immortal emancipator dreamed of place and fame, he said to Mr. Bowles, "Wat, if I could preach like you I would rather do that than be president." The old Union Church served its community and generation for just fifty years to a day, and then, railroads coming and towns growing, it fell on sleep.

Joseph Hostetler was a great, strong man in his time. In his youth he became a member of the Tunker Church and soon thereafter a preacher. With little help his own study of the Bible led him to the common, basic principles of the gospel. He came from Indiana to Illinois in 1832, and in November, of that year, organized the West Okaw Church of Christ. It was located about two miles west of the site

of Lovington and became the mother of a number of congregations of like faith in that section. West Okaw still lives and flourishes in the Lovington church.

In the early thirties a number of families came from Christian County, Kentucky, to Illinois, and settled in Walnut Grove, now known as Eureka. In April, 1832, thirteen Disciples met in the log residence of John Oatman, that stood about one-half mile northeast of the railroad station now there, and organized a church. Since that time it has been known as the Christian Church or Church of Christ at Eureka, and has been one of the most forceful agencies in the entire State for truth and righteousness.

In 1833 churches of Christ were organized at Springfield, Lawrenceville, Decatur, Ursa, Mt. Pleasant, ten miles southeast of Carthage, Little Mackinaw ten miles south of Mackinaw town and elsewhere.

This is less than a birdseye view of the beginnings of the Disciples of Christ in Illinois, but for this paper it must suffice. Across central Illinois and through most of the southern part they continued to grow. Every inch of ground they occupy today has been won by battle. They met opposition, often bitter, always determined, from the older religious bodies. Where we are now strong in numbers, intelligent and wealthy, and particularly "respectable," we are quickly and cheerfully recognized as "orthodox" and welcomed into "the sisterhood of churches." Without doubt with the changing times we have all changed with them and by Divine grace for the better.

What was the attitude of the Disciples in Illinois toward slavery? By 1861 we had grown to number possibly about 20,000 in the State. In all the discussions upon the question of slavery that culminated in the Dred Scott decision—the deepest and the most damning nadir of our national annals—we were active participants. In the thirties, forties and fifties many Disciples came into Illinois from Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia. Some of these who settled in some of the border counties were pro-slavery, but the most of these immigrants came because of their aversion to the "peculiar institution." For example, Ben Major who came from Kentucky and settled in Walnut Grove in the early thirties freed his slaves and sent his agent with them to New York City in 1834 to pay their passage to Liberia. Of those Disciples who came into Illinois during the three decades named from the states east of us nearly all were anti-slavery except those from southern Indiana. In the early forties two colonies of Ohio people came to Illinois. Of these, Dr. J. P. Walters, now a resident of Fairfield, says: "The two colonies of Christians who came from Ohio and settled in Wayne County in earlier years were decidedly anti-slavery in their political convictions, there being abolitionists in each of the companies. These people were important factors in moulding the political sentiment in this county in the years 1840 to 1861. The attitude of the Disciples of Christ during those years throughout this portion of the State was decidedly anti-slavery, but in border counties pro-slavery sentiment prevailed. In evidence of which it is a fact that this county raised more than its quota of soldiers in every call for volunteers, and that the prevailing religious convictions in quite a number of the military organizations in this part of the State was that of the Disciples of Christ."

Edwards County, sometimes called "Little Britain" because so many English people settled there in the earlier years, was not only opposed to slavery but outlawed the liquor traffic fifty years ago. The preponderating religious influence in the county during that period has been that of the Disciples.

Hon. W. H. Johnson was a member of the House from White County in the General Assembly of 1882. The family to which he belongs has been noted for its intelligence and patriotism for one hundred and fifty years. He affirms that most of the Disciples in that part of Illinois in its formative period were opposed to slavery.

The Gale families came from Ohio into Lake County, the Moffett and Hawk families into Carroll County in the early years. These were all anti-slavery people.

The writer is indebted to Professor B. J. Radford, the Sage of Eureka, for the following:

"Of the Disciples of Christ who came into Illinois up to 1861 the great majority were immigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia. They were pretty evenly divided between Henry Clay Whigs and Jackson Democrats—the Whigs predominating in the central and the Democrats in the southern portions of the State. The Clay Whigs leaned strongly toward abolitionism and many of them were supporters of the Liberian Colonization Society. The Democrats were mostly pro-slavery, or indifferent to the slavery question.

"In the breaking up and recasting of parties in the fifties the Whigs in the Churches of Christ generally became Republicans and the Democrats followed Douglas. When Douglas was repudiated by the pro-slavery Democrats, the majority of his followers among the Disciples remained loyal, but a considerable minority supported Breckinridge, probably one-sixth of the voters in our churches in the State. When the Secession movement began, the patriotic course of Douglas rallied his followers almost unanimously to the defense of the Union. Many of them from our churches entered the military service and considerable per cent of them came out Republicans. Not a few of the Breckinridge followers sympathized with the Secessionists, and some of them gave aid and comfort to the enemy. I believe that more than 90 per cent of our people in the State were loyal, a good showing when we consider their antecedents."

The following are the names of a few representative Disciples of Christ who were active in their anti-slavery views: Dr. W. P. Naramore, of Stephenson County; Ministers A. H. Trowbridge and H. D. Palmer, of Marshall; Ben Major, of Woodford; William T. Major, of McLean; John Johnson and Minister Geo. W. Minier, of Tazewell; J. W. Simpson and Col. J. W. Judy, of Menard; J. S. Anderson and Minister E. G. Rice, of Morgan; William B. King and William S. Pickrell, of Sangamon; John Chandler, of Douglas; George Redmon, of Edgar; Minister William Schooly, of Clay, and Dr. John Kossouth Ashley, of Wayne. These men were the peers in every way of their contemporaries in these several counties, intelligent, strong, active and forceful citizens; and they were only a few of a great host.

Many Democrats in the North held with Mr. Douglas to the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" but the attack on Fort Sumter, April

12, 1861, by Beauregard opened their eyes to see the real spirit and aim of the slaveocracy. They would let the black race suffer on but they could not see our flag shot into the dust. Then quickly indifference gave place to patriotic devotion to the Union, the preservation of whose integrity was then paramount to all things else. From a wide range of personal acquaintance and many sources of information the conclusion of the writer is that less than 2 per cent of the Disciples of Christ in Illinois sympathized enough with the would-be Confederacy to even wish for its success.

It is proper to note here that a number of the great Protestant churches have been split in two by the question of slavery long before its climax was reached in the Civil War. But the Disciples of Christ went through that frightful shock without even a thought of division. Their common faith in the conquering Christ and the Catholic gospel subordinated life-long prejudices and flaming political passions to the interests of the Kingdom of God.

THE HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN ILLINOIS.

(By H. D. Jenkins, D.D.)

The history of a particular denomination in a particular state can have a general interest only as it can be shown to have influenced the development of the commonwealth in things that make for the general good. However dear the child to its parents, however bright the boy or beautiful the girl, the public will not demand that its biography be written unless in its later years it may affect the State by its affecting the larger life of the community. The important part played by the Presbyterian Church in the civil, moral and religious life of Illinois during the past one hundred years may well justify the call for a sketch to be printed and filed away among the archives of the State Historical Society.

WHAT IS A PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH?

When a witty Boston girl was asked "Where is Boston?" she is said to have replied, "Where is Boston? Why, Boston is not a place; it is a way of looking at things." So whatever else Presbyterianism may be or may not be, it emphatically is a way of looking at things. In organizing the World's Council of Presbyterian churches, it was left to the distinguished scholar, Prof. Philip Schaff, to say what constituted a Presbyterian church. And his definition stands today in the charter of that council. "A Presbyterian church is a church having a reformed (or Calvinistic) creed and a Presbyterian (representative) form of government."

A creed in which the sovereignty of God is made prominent is popularly called "Calvinistic," but among church historians it is called "Reformed," since at the time of the Reformation it was accepted by all Protestants except the Lutherans. But the belief in that sovereignty is older than Calvin, older than Augustine who laid stress upon it, older than Paul's Epistle to the Romans, indeed as old as human thought. It forms the basis of every philosophical system and runs through all the mighty dramas of the old Greek world. That "God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass," is accepted by Hindu, Moslem and Greek alike, but that God is not the author of sin and man is free as tested by his own consciousness and the words of Holy Scripture, marks the line between Moslem fatalism and Christian sovereignty. "Every man," said Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "is a Calvinist when he prays." The Presbyterian believes that God is the one only original first cause of all things, including conversion and salvation. It is not my duty to defend Presbyterianism, but only to define it. And the

Presbyterian Church does not hold or teach the sovereignty of God any more than it does the free will of man. The Calvinist does not "reconcile" these antinomies any more than he does any other of the many antinomies of philosophy included in the definitions of time, space, matter, spirit, or being itself.

But if a mighty faith in the Sovereignty of Almighty God has given vigor to the Presbyterian church, its representative form of government has made it the special champion of our Republican form of government in America.

The Supreme Court of the United States in repeated decisions has set forth the relation of American churches to the civil state. The state with us regards all churches as voluntary societies into which the member enters (or in which he remains) of his own free will. He assents to the rules of a church and must submit to its form of government because he has himself chosen it or continued it. These forms of government are three. The first, or prelatical, is that in which the bishop is the ruler. The private member surrenders all his natural rights in church affairs to the prelatical authorities who hold office for life. The third form is that of congregationalism in which the private member surrenders nothing, but decides everything from the form of the creed to the exercise of discipline by a popular vote. The last vote taken is the only law. This is pure democracy, a democracy without constitution, without precedent and without appeal. The second, or middle form, is that called Presbyterian, in which the whole body of communicants forms the church and the written constitution the binding law. The details of administration are carried on by chosen representatives who are bound by the written constitution of the church but otherwise conduct the government of a church free from popular reversal. This, it will be seen, is the model upon which our civil state, is erected the practical administration of affairs being placed in the hands of a few representatives but these representatives being bound by the constitutional law of the whole body.

THE BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM.

The churches of New England were Calvinistic in their creed but Congregational in their form of government. The churches of Maryland and Virginia were, so far as their founders were concerned, prelatic in their government. But about 1641 a small number of worshipers near New York began the formation of Calvinistic churches with Presbyterian forms of government, and these in 1705 formed a Presbytery, which Presbytery in 1717 was recast as a Synod, and in 1788 the foundations of a national general assembly were laid. The first meeting of the national body was held in 1789. In 1800 its missionaries crossed the Alleghenies; in 1810 its organization embraced parts of Kentucky and Tennessee, and two years later its first explorers, Samuel J. Mills and John F. Schermerhorn, were skirting the river fronts of this State seeking for that lodgment which two years later—1814—they accomplished.

It was not, however, until 1816 that the first Presbyterian church in what is now Illinois completed its organization under the leadership of Rev. James McGready, a missionary from Kentucky, and this little

rural church at Sharon, in what is now White County, had to wait eight years until (in 1824) it had a minister of its own in the person of Rev. Benjamin Franklin Spilman, justly called "the Father of Presbyterianism in Illinois."

At that time there were supposed to be about 15,000 white persons in the territory. The territory became a state in 1818. And the settlements were practically all along the river fronts as the rivers then afforded the only way of communication with the outer world. Sharon, where the first Presbyterian church in the State was organized, now ninety-seven years ago, was a farming community near the Wabash River and not far from its junction with the Ohio. Its people were perhaps all from across the river. But Golconda, where a Presbyterian church was organized in 1819, being on the Ohio River itself, was a more promising field, and Shawneetown, where on his first visit Mr. Spilman found only one woman and no man professing a Christian faith, had a church which he formed in 1826. So we have now three Presbyterian churches in this part of the new State, the result of ten years' labor, and we may note in passing that Mr. Spilman in six years of his labor preached 959 sermons and traveled 3,688 miles on horseback, as his diary records.

Meanwhile Rev. Salmon Giddings, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in St. Louis, Mo., was not idle. He made frequent missionary trips across the Father of Waters and organized a church at Shoal Creek, in 1819, another at Edwardsville in the same year and a third at Turkey Creek the year following. Thus while the first church was organized in the southeastern section of the State the first three churches to form a group were gathered on the prairies opposite St. Louis.

It was a little later—1829—that a young graduate of Princeton walked into the office of the American Home Missionary Society in New York and requested to be sent to any place "where no other man would go." The society immediately dispatched him to Galena, Ill. This section was just then attracting a mob of prospectors because of its recently exploited lead mines. This aspirant for a difficult field was Rev. Aratus Kent, a man of truly apostolic courage, faith and zeal. His coming to Galena was as the breaking of the dawn over the regions of darkness, although, welcome as he was, it was not until nearly three years later that even the smallest church could be formed. But the churches of Elizabeth, Hanover, Apple River, Freeport, Rockford and Belvidere followed, until a junction may be said to have been formed in the forties with the settlements about Chicago, where another pioneer missionary, Rev. Jeremiah Porter, had begun his work in 1833. This chaplain in the regular army had organized a church in Fort Dearborn, largely composed of soldiers who had been converted under his preaching at Fort Brady, Sault Ste. Marie, where the battalion was then stationed.

On the 30th of January, 1828, the Presbyterian Church of Sangamon, with two places of worship but no fixed home, was organized by Rev. John M. Ellis, to which Rev. John G. Bergen came as a pastor about a year later. The church building later erected and dedicated—1831—was the first brick church in Illinois. Its interesting history has recently been written by its former pastor, Rev. Thomas D. Logan, D.D. This

became a center of missionary activity in the center of the State. It was called the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield later.

The tide of immigration was now at its flood and Presbyterian churches sprung up rapidly at Peoria, Rushville, Ottawa and all around these sites. In 1816 the little church at Sharon was the only Presbyterian organization in the territory, but twenty years later we know from the reports made to the General Assembly there were not less than 60 ministers, 76 churches, and 2,390 church members in Illinois. Today there are in this State 606 Presbyterian ministers, 597 churches, and 99,944 members, with a net gain of over 5,000 members each year. The federal census recognizes 130 to 150 "religious denominations" in the United States. But Presbyterianism has today in Illinois alone a larger membership than any one of more than 125 of these "denominations," some of which maintain a bureau to keep their name before the public and assert their growth to the people. The Presbyterian in Illinois may be pardoned if he feels that he is, as St. Paul said of his Tarsian citizenship, "a citizen of no mean city."

But the most important question after all is:

FOR WHAT DOES ILLINOIS PRESBYTERIANISM STAND?

Judging by its history, apart from its maintaining the Reformed Faith and the Representative Form of Government,

IT HAS STOOD FOR FREE SCHOOLS.

Up to the coming of such men as Mr. Spilman, Mr. Giddings, Mr. Bergen, Father Kent and Chaplain Jeremiah Porter to this State, there had been more or less itinerant preaching by other ministers, whose qualifications for their work may be summed up by one of the Baptist historians who says that "one-third of the early ministers of his church were a benefit to their denomination; another third did no harm, but the last third helped the enemy more than they helped the cause they advocated." Governor Ford asserts in his History of Illinois that there was only one "educated" minister settled in the State before 1820.

But I have carefully traced the biographies of the first fifteen Presbyterian ministers noted in connection with the founding of our work in this State—preachers between 1816 and 1836—and found that fourteen of the fifteen were graduates of the best colleges in the United States, more coming from Harvard than from any other one source; not a few were from Princeton and others from Dartmouth, Union and so on. They "endured hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ" and such of them as have left us diaries or biographies of their labors, show us that they braved merciless suns and furious blizzards; ate the coarse food of the pioneer settler and slept on the bare floor of the log cabin, or in default of that, in the stable or under the open sky. Yet they carried with them the culture of the schools and that love of books, both of which have always characterized our ministry.

Almost every rude home in which the parson found refuge was converted into a schoolhouse for its vicinity. The men founded perhaps

scores of academies, which have given place to the modern high school, but there still survive under denominational care some of the best academies in the State. And what may surprise even some loyal Presbyterians, we have in Illinois five fully equipped and well endowed colleges, such as Illinois College at Jacksonville, Blackburn College at Carlinville, Lake Forest College, Lincoln and Decatur, in all enrolling upwards of 3,000 students and so placed that they bring an education near to the homes of those who need the inducement of contiguity to rouse their ambition.

And it was Illinois College, founded by Presbyterians in Jacksonville as early as 1829, that gave to the State Newton Bateman, "the father of the free school system of Illinois," after which system the systems of practically all the western states are modeled. It is true the public school had been outlined as early as 1822 by far-seeing men, but the laws which were needed for organization and support were repealed and almost as soon as passed and Governor Ford reports that up to 1847 there was "no common school system worthy of the name" and there were no adequate funds. But during these troubled years more than one Presbytery put itself on record as urging free schools for all the people and appealing to the church as a whole to vote for men in sympathy with the movement. It is Newton Bateman, graduate of its first college—the college also from which our present Secretary of State of the United States, comes—to whom we owe an admirable system which has imitators round the world.

But not less in importance we remember that

PRESBYTERIANISM IN ILLINOIS HAS ALWAYS STOOD FOR FREE LABOR.

Very few persons know anything of the bitter fight which was made between 1816 and 1824 to convert Illinois into a slave State. Indeed Illinois was a slave State when admitted to the Union in 1818, in spite of the ordinance of 1787 which distinctly prohibited slavery in all the territory north of the Ohio River. But in that ordinance the rights, customs and privileges of the old French (Catholic) inhabitants were guaranteed to them; and as they all owned slaves this was interpreted by the courts to continue such slaves in slavery, and by further interpretation, their children after them were to be slaves! And so it came about that 800 slaves were reported in the federal census of 1840. Many anti-slavery Presbyterians of Kentucky and Tennessee and even from North Carolina, had come to Illinois to set their slaves free, which they were not permitted to do in their native states; but even in Illinois they found it a matter of difficulty as they were required to give bonds for the conduct and support of such negroes as long as they should live, and every trick known to the demagogue was resorted to to make freedom odious and unprofitable if not impossible in this State. Long trains of immigrants from the border states passed every summer through this territory with teams and retinues of slaves on their way to Missouri, a slave state, and many of the settlers felt that could they arrest this stream and give to these wealthy families from the South the laws which had protected their "property" in their old homes, the future of Illinois

would be assured and affluent. It might almost be said that the contest "for" or "against" slavery was the only political issue for all these years. And when, in 1820, the Legislature advocated calling a convention to revise the constitution, then only two years old, in the interests of the slaveholder, a contest was precipitated which was continued without intermission for four years. As every historian acknowledges, the Presbyterian church defeated the attempt. That Illinois was never legally a slave state we owe to such men as Spilman, Edwards, Kent, and Jeremiah Porter, the four men who held the fort for freedom in strategic centers, such as Shawneetown, Edwardsville, Springfield, Chicago, and Galena. Nevertheless while the call for pro-slavery convention was defeated in 1824, "black laws" of so iniquitous a character were passed by one legislature after another, that the fight for the civil rights of negroes in this State was never ended until the Civil War turned the scale forever in the favor of universal free labor.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ILLINOIS HAS ALWAYS STOOD FOR FREE SPEECH AND A FREE PRESS.

Of course there were pro-slavery preachers in some of our pulpits and protestants against "agitation" were to be found in every Presbytery. But I doubt if there was a single Presbytery in the State which had not at some time or other distinctly put itself on the side of free speech and a free press. The first attempt to hold an anti-slavery meeting in Peoria was called to meet in the Main Street Presbyterian Church, 1843. But it was driven from the auditorium by a mob "composed of the wealth and respectability of Peoria" as the papers said next day. Six years before that, at a meeting of the Synod of Illinois in the old First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, October 19, 1837, Rev. Jeremiah Porter, chaplain of the troops at Chicago and founder of the First Church there, preached an anti-slavery sermon before the Synod which roused such bitter hostility that it was only the personal courage to Edwacd D. Baker—who died twenty-five years later at the head of his brigade at Ralls Bluff—that saved the speaker from violence. Edward Beecher at this meeting silenced the men "in the back seats" who sought to suppress freedom of debate, and it was here Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy attended his last meeting, for he was shot three weeks later when attempting to set up an anti-slavery press at Alton. It was the fact that such men as Governor Coles and Governor Edwards would not be silenced, and that such men as Rev. Thomas Lippincott insisted upon freedom of the press in his *Edwardsville Spectator* that the defeat of all the attempts to make Illinois a silent if not active partner in slavery is due.

But finally we may say that:

PRESBYTERIANISM IN ILLINOIS HAS ALWAYS STOOD FOR FREE GIVING.

I mean, of course by this, that it has been noted for the large and wise benevolence of its members. Its 100,000 communicants last year

gave but little short of $1,000,000 to the benevolences which are recognized as regular church channels. They contributed at the same time much more than $1,500,000 to the support of their own churches. And were we to include the individual gifts of such men as Cyrus McCormick, whose gifts to our theological seminary run up into the millions; or of such men as the late John Crear, who founded and endowed the Crear Library for research at a cost of $2,000,000, now worth twice that; or of John V. Farwell, the father and nursing mother of the Chicago Y. M. C. A.; or Henry B. Crowell, the president of the Quaker Oats Corporation and chief backer of the Moody Institute in Chicago—to mention only four Presbyterians, all elders in Chicago—it would be easy to show that Presbyterianism is not a cloudy, metaphysical system of "lunar politics," but a living faith, holding fast the forms of sound doctrine and not remiss in the acts which prove faith by deeds.

ANTI-SLAVERY STRUGGLE IN ILLINOIS AS IT EFFECTED THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

(John H. Ryan, Pontiac, Ill.)

Methodism was transplanted in America from Wesley societies in the British Isles. Phillip Embury in New York and Robert Strawbridge in Maryland were unconscious competitors for the honor of first preaching Wesleyan doctrines in the Colonies in 1766.

The Revolutionary War, having severed American and English Methodism, John Wesley made provision for the organization of the New World societies, then numbering 14,988, into the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The organization was completed in the First General Conference which met in Baltimore, December, 1784. Dr. Thomas Coke, who had been consecrated by Mr. Wesley in England for the office of a general superintendent in America, was present, and the conference selected Frances Asbury as superintendent, who immediately entered upon his duties with Dr. Coke in shaping the policy of the church.

The first discipline was adopted by this conference in which the relation to general methodism was set forth, and the doctrines and policies to which they shall adhere were presented in a series of questions and answers; and in the answer to question 42 an elaborate plan to extripate the abomination of slavery is given, and to the next question, "What shall we do with those who buy or sell slaves or give them away?" the answer is, "They are to immediately be expelled unless they buy them on purpose to free them." Wesley's attitude was well known. In his Journal of 1772 he speaks of the slave trade as "That execrable sum of all villianies." His close and sympathic interest in Wilberforce and Howard is even more expressive; his last letter dated February 24, 1791, being to the former, at the time he brought the question of abolition of slavery before the British Parliament; he writes—"Unless God has raised you up for this thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils, but if God be for you who can be against you"; and Howard writes—"I was encouraged by Wesley to go on vigorously with my own designs. I saw in him how much a single man might achieve by zeal and perserverance and I thought why may not I do as much in my way as Wesley has done in his."

To understand such a controversy as a question like slavery might project upon the activities of the church, it is necessary to understand its connectional administration, its bishops have general supervision; its secretaries and editors are elected, while its periodicals and publishing interests belong to the general church; so in its government there are three judicatories, styled conferences, the Quarterly Conference, the

highest business authority of the church or charge; the Annual Conference, composed of ministers in a given territory, there being at this time 133 such conferences; the General Conference, the quadrennial law making body, composed of representatives proportionate to the ministers in the Annual Conference.

It would be impossible, therefore, to make a local issue out of any question involving the merits of the anti-slavery struggle.

Of the two classes, organized in 1766, one was in New York and the other in Maryland, and at the time the church was organized in 1784 of the 14,988 members, 1,607 were north and 13,361 south of Mason and Dixon's line. These conditions were not to change with the westward course of settlements and the churches' growth; almost immediately the controversy was on, and with no sentence of palliation or justification of slavery the position was assumed by some, that in the presence of an institution that had always existed, and when slavery had never excluded from membership in the general church, that to enforce the General Conference rules on slavery would be to exclude the church from the slave holding south; so in 1785 we find a suspension of the slavery rule, accompanied with the declaration that "We do hold in deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery and shall not cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means."

That this resolution was adhered to was proven in the fact that in 1818 the eloquent Kentuckyan, Henry Bascom, friend of Henry Clay, and later bishop of the Church South, was admitted to the conference by a majority of only one vote on account of his sympathy with the lax enforcement of the slavery rule, and in the same year, Reverend Jacob Gruber, a member of the Baltimore Conference and presiding elder, preached at a camp meeting with such severity against slavery that he was arrested for felony, and in an eloquent speech in his defense, Roger B. Taney, who later was the United States Chief Justice of Dred Scott fame, affirmed that the Methodist Church had steadily in view the abolition of slavery, and that its preachers were accustomed to speak of the injustice and oppression of slavery.

While many enactments of the church were uncompromising and beyond the public sentiment of the time, yet a concession to the South in failing to insist on obedience to the letter of the law gave occasion for a softer tone of protest, till, finally for the sake of peace, conferences and individuals were deprocating agitations which distressed the body of believers, and gave promise of no immediate good, but even such utterances only indicated that the irresistable conflict was on and even the most conservative utterances were met by the rising tide of freedom.

The first Methodist Abolition Society was formed in New York City in 1833. The same year Zion's Herald opened its columns to abolition sentiment. In the General Conference of 1836 one memorial in favor of the restoration of the original rule on slavery was signed by 200 ministers and another by 2,284 members.

The conflict intensified; in some of the New England conferences issues between the body and the presiding bishop made conservative action impossible. The example of Lucius C. Matlock will show the spirit of the times; licensed to preach in 1837, and immediately recommended to the Philadelphia Conference as a traveling preacher; his

elder, asked to represent him, acknowledged that he was a mild abolitionist. An unusual debate ensued, and resulted in tabling the motion. He continued to preach as a supply but later the renewal of his license was refused on the same ground. That his gifts and graces were of a high order and only his strong anti-slavery convictions stood in the way are proven in the testimony of Dr. J. P. Durbin, President of Dickinson College, who, as a member of the committee to confer with him, writes to him personally to that effect.

Some remarkable church trials followed the agitations of ministers closely identified with the anti-slavery societies of the church. The state of public feeling was very intense, and names of such men as Orange Scott, Luther Lee, L. C. Matlock and Leroy Sunderland, the latter having been tried six times on charges constructed from his official acts and utterances; and while prosecuted by the ablest debaters of the nation he successfully made his own defense with such ability, that his triumphs were not only personal, but general, in making sentiment for his cause.

With this state of feeling the General Conference of 1840 assembled. Anti-slavery memorials from five hundred ministers and ten thousand lay men were presented. Silas Comfort, a member of the Missouri Conference, had been judged guilty of mal-administration for admitting the testimony of a colored member against a white. The General Conference confirmed the action of the Missouri Conference, but not without an epoch making debate, and compromise resolutions suggested by Bishop Soule, which modified the apparent firmness of the conference action in the case of Comfort. These were mutterings of a fiercer storm, for in 1844 the church was rent in twain, but before that time, so intense was the feeling among men of the North that many left the Methodist Church and joined other denominations. In 1841 the Wesleyan Methodists were formed in Michigan with 1,116 members and in 1842 a church, non-episcopal and anti-slavery was organized, with such men as Luther Lee, L. C. Matlock, formerly mentioned, and whose history of the anti-slavery struggle and triumph in the Methodist Church is the most complete history of the great controversy. Orange Scott, of whom Whittier spoke as the ablest advocates of the anti-slavery cause, also joined this company. Six thousand members adhered to them and over fifty ministers.

Legislative enactments in the slave-holding states tended to exasperate the multitude who gravely viewed the impending crisis.

The House in the Maryland Legislature passed a resolution tending to drive the free negroes from the state, or reduce them to slavery. Dr. Bond, Editor of the *Christian Advocate* in New York, but a native of Maryland, who had written so vigorously against the abolutionists in his native state, denounced the movement of the slave-holder's convention as "beyond the ordinary wickedness of man." The questions we are told are dangerous to discuss are now forced upon us by those who conjure us to silence. The columns of the *Christian Advocate* were now open to the discussion of slavery. Dr. Bond lead the discussion. He allowed Dr. Robert Boyd to answer.

In reviewing these defenses the editor expressed anti-slavery views for which he was criticised by the *Southern Advocate.* He was also condemned by various quarterly conferences in Georgia and Alabama. He

answered that such extreme views would not only leave us without hope of better things, but forced upon us the necessity of defense, before which he would resign as editor, and if the church ever ceased to testify against slavery he would seek a purer community.

The Methodist Abolitionists of New England held a convention in Boston in January, 1843, in which they resolved that slave holding was a sin, every slave-holder a sinner and ought not to be admitted to the pulpit or communion.

Another convention, held in Maine, claimed to have collected documentary evidence that there were 200 Methodist ministers holding 1,600 slaves, and 25,000 members holding 207,000 more, while a New Hampshire convention recommended entire separation from the South.

This brings us to the critical time in the history of the church, and to come within the limitations of this paper it is necessary to review the history of church affairs within the State.

Illinois had only 215 inhabitants in 1800, but Methodism had entered the State in 1793, and Benjamin Young was regularly appointed as Missionary to Illinois in 1804, and at the end of one year reported 67 members.

In 1805, Jesse Walker, of Virginia, and William McKendree, afterward bishop, came to the territory, and together crossed the prairie, penetrated the forest solitudes, swam the swollen streams and located the isolated settlers of the State. The next year Walker was appointed to the Illinois circuit and immediately proceeded to settle his family in the Turkey Hill settlement in St. Clair County. In 1807, he held a camp meeting near the present town of Edwardsville. In 1812, Jesse Walker was made presiding elder of the Illinois District, which he traveled for four years, and in 1816 was removed to the Missouri District, and while in this pioneer work he founded the Methodist Church in St. Louis in 1819. His interest in the Indians lead to his being appointed to mission work among them in 1824, in connection with his pioneer work among the whites, and he immediately opened a school among them at Fort Clerk, now Peoria, and while extending his work among the Indians, organized the first Methodist class in Peoria in 1825. His Salem mission among the Indians was established on the Fox River, above Ottawa, about the same time. He also assisted in founding the church in Chicago in 1831.

Many of the men who were pioneering the church's interests in the West were of southern birth and sympathy, but strong in the espousal of the cause of freedom. Moreover, the conference territory, which included the present State of Illinois, was border territory and was destined to be drawn into all phases of the slavery controversy. Men, meeting in the same Annual Conference sessions, were to come from churches with a plantation constituency to deliberate with men fresh from the rising spirit of anti-slavery sentiment. The official papers, directed by elected editors and presses, owned by the church, to serve the church and sustaining an ethical standard consistent with an approving conscience, was to find leadership constantly embarrassed with a great moral and secular problem. This demanded delicate adjustment in a peculiar territory, where skill, piety and diplomacy were blended accomplishments devoutly to be desired.

The Western Conference included the settlements between the Allegheny Mountains and the far flung battle line of civilization in the west—Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Mississippi, with Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. At the General Conference of 1812 it was divided into the Ohio and Tennessee Conference, each of which included territory in several states, while in 1816, when the Missouri Conference was formed, it included that state with Arkansas, Illinois and Indiana. The next division of territory wholly within the State, was in 1840, when the Rock River Conference was cut off the northern end of the State and included territory in Wisconsin and Iowa, and the geographical relation of these territories is necessary to an understanding of the problem, and the character of the leaders in the ministry is more important even than what might be credited to the accomplishment of a single man.

Peter Cartwright, so familiarly known to the Sangamon territory, reviewing the history of the church and his part in it from 1812 to 1820, speaks of the constant agitation of the slavery question, the unit of the ministry to bear testimony against it, the success in securing the freedom of thousands of slaves through moral effort, and the fact of other thousands who were converted to God through the efforts of the ministry, which drew no color line. He confesses, however, that the General Conference tried to keep ministers from entanglement with the political phase of the question, and even in that early time predicted the possible civil strife if the bitterness of the controversy increased.

In 1826 he consents to stand for the Legislature of Illinois in protest against an effort to make the State slave territory, and makes record that he had left Kentucky on account of slavery and hoped in so doing he might be free from the "abomination of desolation," but with the contest on he entered the list to oppose slavery. In his canvass he met rascal, horse thief, and even more inelegant terms, that were supposed to strengthen the political vocabulary of the frontier, but he was successful, and served creditably for two terms. Indeed he was in the Legislature when Mr. Lincoln served that body and was selected by the Democrats to oppose him for Congressional honors. Mr. Lincoln did not pay indifferent compliment to this Knight of the Forum, to whom life had been one long school to qualify him for mastery of assemblies, and same deliberation in council.

The delegates from Illinois to the General Conference of 1844 were: Peter Acres, J. Van Cleve, J. Stamper, N. G. Berryman, and Peter Cartwright. They had been elected at the Annual Conference over which Bishop Andrew had presided, the very men whose unsought relation to slavery precipitated the division of the church.

From the Rock River Conference Bartholomew Weed, John Sin Clair, H. W. Reed and J. T. Mitchell were elected. No more representative men could have been selected. Sin Clair was from Kntucky, while Cartwright, Acres and Mitchell were Virginians; Mitchell was eloquent and scholarly; all were men of convictions, with ability to defend them. While Acres and Cartwright, so unlike as to make comparison a contract, so conspicuously serviceable as to make eulogy, superfluous.

The Memorable General Conference convened in Green Street Church, New York, in May, 1844. The Episcopal address, read by Bishop Soule, was adroit and conciliatory, and calculated to divert the

mind from the dangers upon which they were entering. Then followed the case of Francis A. Harding, of the Baltimore Conference, who had been suspended from his ministerial standing for refusing to manumit certain slaves brought into his possession by marriage. He appealed to the General Conference, and the appeal was admitted. The law of the State and the view of the South was presented in defense. Slavery was admitted to be an evil, not necessarily a sin. The action suspending him was affirmed by a vote of 56 to 17. Two voted from the southern states with the majority, while four votes from the two Illinois delegations voted with the South, among them, Peter Akers, still hopeful of conciliation.

Then followed the case of Bishop Andrew. A preamble and resolutions were introduced asking an investigation of the bishop's relation to slavery. At the request of the Episcopal Committee the bishop answered:

First—That an aged lady of Augusta, Ga., had bequeathed to him a mulatto girl, in trust, that he should care for her until she was nineteen years of age, and then, with her consent, she should be sent to Liberia. Refusing to go she had remained legally his slave.

Second—The mother of his former wife had left to her daughter a negro boy. By the death of his wife, and the provisions of the State law, the boy became his property, but he was at liberty to go when the State permitted or when he was satisfied he could provide for himself.

Third—Having recently married his present wife, she was at the time possessed of slaves inherited from her former husband's estate. They were additionally secured to her by a trust deed from him, and he disowned, therefore, any right or title in them.

Resolutions with comprehensive preamble, respectfully asked the bishop to resign his office.

The greatest debate of the church followed, leaving no word to be said on any phase of the subject, in morals, in expediency, or pleas for time and reflection to save the church from the threatened disruption. Only the defense of slavery was wanting; no one spoke for it. The fear of excluding Methodism from the slave holding states and a personal defense of the bishop, who had not chosen the position he occupied, sums the defense.

Cass, of New Hampshire, in a radical speech, quoted Wesley as saying: "Men buyers were exactly on a level with men stealers," and to palliate on terms of inheritance was to neither satisfy conscience nor justice. To which Pierce, of Georgia, replied that "New Englanders were described by Paul as intermeddlers in other men's matters."

Bishop Andrew, deeply pained, convened a meeting of the delegates from the slave holding conferences and offered to resign in the interest of peace, but the answer was, "If slavery disqualifies you it disqualifies all of us." The faultless character, the refined spirit, the generous sympathy and consecrated zeal of Bishop Andrew with the severe alternative which sectional feeling and rapidly changing sentiment had forced upon him and his friends, was expressed by Bodie, of Tennessee—"Here, take Bishop Andrew and crucify him, for I find no fault in him."

Peter Cartwright, of Illinois, made a characteristic speech. His experience had dated from 1805, when he joined the Western Conference.

Every Methodist preacher had opposed slavery from stem to stern. There was not to be found in its ministry an advocate of slavery. He deplored the suggestion that we could not at any time touch a bishop who had become unacceptable. He pronounced the sentiment as humbug that if a man inherited a slave he could do nothing with him. "I so became owner and shouldered my responsibility, resolved to be like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion; I took them to my State and set them free; gave them land and built them houses, where they have prospered." He quoted Bishop McKendree, "If I owned a thousand slaves I would not die a slave holder. This doctrine I accepted when a beardless boy."

The debate intensified feeling and deepened interest. It was clearly seen that division was imminent. An effort was made to postpone action until th next General Conference. This was proposed by the Board of Bishops, but by a roll call it was tabled by a majority of twelve. The previous question then prevailed and amid profound silence a vote was taken on the resolution, that Bishop Andrew desist from the exercise of his office so long as his impediment remained. This resolution prevailed by a vote of 111 against 69. All votes from the middle, eastern and western states were for the resolution, except three from the Illinois Conference, five from Baltimore, four from Philadelphia, two from New Jersey, and one each from New York, Michigan and the Rock River Conference. But one resident from the South voted for it—John Clark, a delegate from the republic of Texas, who, four years before, had been a delegate to the General Conference from Illinois.

A resolution providing for two general conferences, with continued joint interest in the publishing house and missions, was submitted to the committee, of which Akers, of Illinois, was one, but before the committee was named, another was introduced, asking that the committee propose a plan for the constitutional, friendly, and mutual division of the church, which prevailed, Cartwright, of Illinois, opposing.

It is a matter of pride on the part of the friends of this wonderful man that, being a member of the General Conference from 1816 to 1856, he never cast a vote on a matter of church policy which subsequent events proved unwise. In a misistry of over fifty years, largely confined to Illinois, and in a formative period of its history where he had preached over 14,000 sermons and received 10,000 persons into the church, it was interesting to read his calm reflection of the later years—"That no circumstance had so afflicted him as the division of the church in 1844, nor could he ever forget the impatience on both sides which drove the church to such an exigency," and he records with pride the fact that he voted alone against his colleagues on all revolutionary measures, which tended to divide the church.

The plan of division was looked upon as a moral victory by many of the North. They were no longer compromised. They assumed the position of extreme abolitionists, who preferred withdrawal from the union of states on the same ground. Not so with all, and it is of interest to note that another statesman in a different field of public service, saw in this first secession the early banking of the ominous storm cloud. Henry Clay, writing to his friend, Dr. W. A. Booth, expresses his deep regret at the course of events in the Methodist Church, stating that no

public occurrence had so pained him as a division of the church, throwing all free states on one side, and all the slave states on the other, and he adds: "I will not say that such a separation would necessarily produce a dissolution of political union of these states, but the example will be fraught with imminent danger."

Many calm reflections upon this period of church history have discussed the distinction of the "evil and sin of slavery." The Pauline policy of meeting existing institutions, Prudential and Constitutional grounds and limitations, but the history is made, and he who writes the philosophy of history must give the verdict as to its bane or blessing.

Feeling was intensified over litigation following the plan of separation. The well defined boundaries of the two divisions made the matter of local property and responsibility for benevolence easy of adjustment, but the property of the common church, known as the book concern, was secured by restrictive rules, of which the sixth provided that the General Conference should not appropriate the profits of the Book Concern for any other purpose than the benefit of the traveling ministers, their widows, etc., the legal contention being that the seceders, going out as any individual leaving, the Methodist Episcopal Church remained and was responsible for its trust fund.

A suit was begun in the United States Circuit Court, District of Ohio, and appealed to the United States Supreme Court, where it was held that the General Conference had power to divide the church and that the division of joint property by a court of equity followed as a matter of course.

Stamper and Berryman, of the Illinois Conference, had voted for the plan of division, but Peter Cartwright had stood against it, and with all the vehemence of his nature. When the conference met at Nashville, Washington County, Ill., in the early fall, immediately following the stormy General Conference of May, it was to consider the plan of division and change of the restrictive rule, which required a three-fourths vote of the conference. Cartwright, girded for the defense of the integrity of his beloved church, made that majority impossible, as it was later throughout the conferences of the church.

Illinois, being border territory, and coming early in the series of contests that were to follow, its action and position, and the position of Dr. Cartwright, set the example of non-concurrence, and had no little effect on the general results. This fact, however, made the legal outcome the more unusual in denying that it was a secession and that neither division lost interest in the common property.

Another powerful influence effecting the growing sentiment of Illinois was the position of the official press of the church, which forced upon public opinion the evils of slavery, even to the displeasure of the slave-holding South. This was a greater mark of courage than if the publications were personal property, and had a local constituency rather than belonging to the entire church, with editors elected from the membership who were to feel the obligation of a full church service, and naturally not to be indifferent to the support and general interests of the church.

The *Western Christian Advocate,* published at Cincinnati, had the largest circulation in Illinois. It had been established in 1832, with Thomas A. Morris, afterward bishop, as its first editor. It was always anti-slavery, and as the result of its position lost heavily in southern Ohio and Illinois, but gained 4,000 subscribers above its losses in the western reserve, Kentucky and western Virginia.

The sectional sentiment of the State is indicated in this paragraph—southern Illinois never justified slavery; but was in sympathy with the ministry of the adjacent border, seriously handicapped by the presence of an institution, which, judged as a secular wrong, nevertheless did not seem to justify a policy which would exclude the church from access to thousands within the borders of the slave territory, so this part of the State is on record as not concurring with sentiment of terriory to the North and East.

The Illinois Conference made its protest against slavery as early as the record of its ministry. While the Rock River Conference, to the north, carved out of the old Illinois Conference in 1843, went on record against slavery in its first session, and with consistent regularity till the Committee on Slavery was changed to one of the state of the country with the opening of the Rebellion and among the early utterances of prophetic insight was that the government could not long recognize chattels in the slaves of those who fired on Sumpter.

The central Illinois, originally a portion of Rock River until 1856, had in a resolution drafted by Dr. Richard Haney, in September, 1862, and adopted by the conference, asked President Lincoln to manumit the slaves of this country. It is claimed to be the first ecclesiastical action of like character reaching the President.

The repadity with which events rushed to their culmination will be indicated in a brief review. The first subscription to a Methodist church in America was made by Captain Webb, of the British Army, whose regiment was then quartered in New York. On the same paper is the name of Phillip Livingston, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; and side by side with these names are those of Margaret and Rachel, two slave girls. This was in 1768. A prophet could have seen in these names the suggestion of the greatest events in the next century. Revolution, the fierce, unabating anti-slavery struggle, and Rebellion, with its laurels born by the spirit of the new civilization.

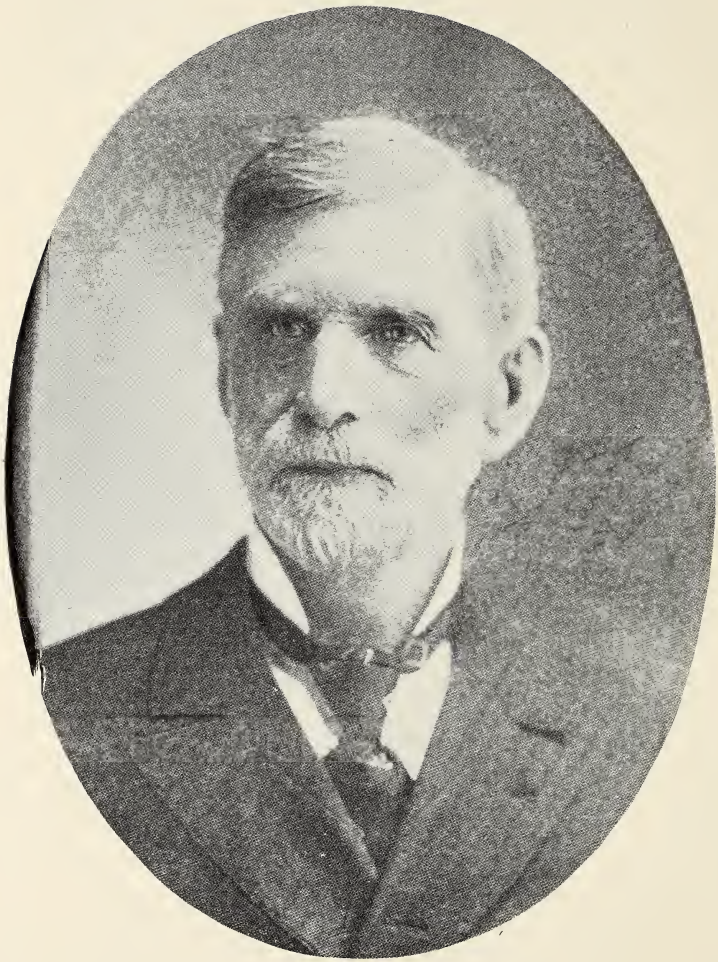
The faith and conviction of the people called Methodists is indicated by their devotion to the nation in the dark days of civil strife. Dr. Richard Haney, a worthy associate of Cartwright, Akers and Phelps preached the centenary sermon of American Methodism at Lexington, Ill., September, 1866. He had given constant service to the ministry in Illinois since 1835; had presided at the first meeting called to form plans for the Northwestern University; was six times elected to the General Conference, and during the war was chaplain of the Sixth Illinois Volunteers. In one paragraph of his address he says, "Our church sent 175,000 warriors to the front; the blood of Methodists baptised the soil of 625 battlefields. Scarcely do we meet a congregation without a bereaved mother, a broken-hearted wife and orphans of a soldier father. This is confirmed by the fact that 510 chaplains from her ministry, 64

of whom came from Illinois, pointed to glory and led the way. As to how they responded, let the Great Emancipator speak:

"It is not the fault of others that the Methodist Church, by its greater numbers, sends more soldiers to the front, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayer to Heaven than any other.

"These are the spiritual sons and daughters of those who are strong enough to break with slavery, and while that great army came from hill and shore between the seas, yet Shiloh and Vicksburg and Chicamaugua proclaim in eloquent memorial:

" 'Not without thy wondrous story, Illinois.' "



PAUL SELBY.

PAUL SELBY.

(A Sketch by Henry W. Clendenin.)

The subject of this sketch, Mr. Paul Selby, first vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1903-1906, died at his home in Chicago, March 19, of the present year, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. He was born in Pickaway County, Ohio, June 20, 1825. It is given to but few men to live to this advanced age, and be blessed with vigor of mind and comparative vigor of body as fully as did Mr. Selby.

There are no fixed rules for preparing a sketch of a friend to be read before a society of friends. And I may assume that all those members of the Illinois State Historical Society present today and who have acquired the commendable habit of attending the annual gatherings of the society are friends and acquaintances of the late Paul Selby. I will, therefore, in this brief sketch of the life and services of our friend, devote the larger portion of it to giving my views of what Mr. Selby was, rather than to telling about what he did.

My personal relations with Mr. Selby date back to the time when I came to Springfield in 1881, thirty-two years ago—and became editor of the *Illinois State Register*. Mr. Selby was then and for a number of years afterward editor of the *Illinois State Journal*. The firm hand clasp and warm welcome that he gave me at that time have remained one of the most pleasant recollections of those early days, and have been cherished as a benediction. My first impression of Mr. Selby was that he was a friend—not only to the stranger whom he greeted, but also to humanity. There was that air of sincerity about him that inspired confidence and respect. In his intercourse with others I found him to be not a man of many words nor a man of many moods, but a man whose words and moods had not the slightest taint of hypocrisy. They carried with them the evidence of a profound and abiding devotion to those principles of truth which mark the sincere man in dealing with his fellow man.

Mr. Selby was a busy man. From early manhood, as his record which will be briefly given hereafter in this paper shows, he filled places of responsibility, honor and labor. From the days of his youth to the day of his lamented passing, Mr. Selby never coveted an idle moment. What was remarkable in a man of his ability, which was great, and his acquirements, which were varied and valuable, he was not a seeker after wealth, nor ambitious for distinction. He was governed more by a spirit of helpfulness, by a desire to assist others to plant their feet on solid ground and to make those whom he could influence better, happier and more useful.

Mr. Selby was a man who never faltered in the advocacy and promotion of principles and movements which he believed to be right. He possessed the courage of his convictions, a trait that many able and good men who figure more or less in public affairs do not possess, much to the impairment of their usefulness and the retarding of the world's progress. To Mr. Selby and men like him the credit is due for the effective influence and constructive methods that have made Illinois the great commonwealth it is. It is the teachers among men who have laid the foundations for advancing civilization and planned the superstructure. Mr. Selby was by nature and by choice a teacher. It was this predisposition to teach the higher ideals of life, so manifest in his journalistic and literary career that led him in his early manhood to become a school teacher.

Mr. Selby came to Illinois in 1844, when nineteen years of age and taught school in Madison County. He taught for a few years and in 1848 entered as a student in Illinois College at Jacksonville as a junior, to perfect his education. It was here that Mr. Selby first acquired his taste for journalism in which profession in after years he became distinguished as a leader in thought and influence. In connection with his college course at Jacksonville, he came editor of the *Morgan Journal,* now the *Jacksonville Journal.* He was recognized at that early age as a strong and conscientious writer. Mr. Selby some years later became a teacher in a Louisiana institution but was forced to leave at the breaking out of the Civil War on account of his anti-slavery views, which he did not try to conceal. The trustees of the institution, however, recognizing his merit and respecting him for his personal worth, passed resolutions commending his work as a teacher, and his policy as a man.

Returning North, Mr. Selby was employed for a time in the government service in the transportation and subsistence departments at Cairo, Ill., and Paducah, Ky. But Mr. Selby's inclinations led him to journalism.

Mr. Selby's experience as an editor of the *Morgan Journal* fitted him for a wider field, and on his return from the South he became associate editor of the *Daily Illinois State Journal* for a brief period. He afterward went to Chicago and in 1866 was on the editorial staff of the *Chicago Journal* and the *Chicago Republican.* In 1868 he became editor of the *Quincy Whig.* He gained a wide State reputation as editor of that journal. In 1874 he became editor and one of the proprietors of the *Illinois State Journal,* continuing in that capacity until 1889, when he disposed of his holdings in the Journal and removed to Chicago, where he engaged in literary work up to a short time before his death.

It was as editor of the *Illinois State Journal* that the writer gained personal knowledge of Mr. Selby as an editor. Although our journals were of opposite politics and our controversies at times were warm, Mr. Selby always recognized and respected the amenities of journalism and we maintained most friendly personal relations. He was an able, vigorous writer, careful in statements as to facts, courteous in language, uncompromising in his championship of the principles he advocated, thoroughly informed on public affairs, historical and current, conspicuously public spirited in local matters, and conscientious in his treatment

of all subjects he discussed. He was a "four-square" man in his dealings with the public; and as a consequence his influence as an editor was great, and the results he achieved proportionately large.

It was as the editor in politics that Mr. Selby was prominently potential. He was as a young man a leader as an editor in the formation of the Republican party. In 1854, when only twenty-nine years of age, he was a member of the anti-Nebraska convention at Springfield. This was the beginning of the political conflict in Illinois that brought Abraham Lincoln conspicuously before the country as the champion of a "free-soil" party which subsequently chose the name "Republican" and elected William H. Bissell Governor in 1856, made Abraham Lincoln its candidate for United States Senator in opposition to Stephen A. Douglas in 1858 and candidate for president in 1860. Mr. Selby was prominent as an editor and worker for the cause he advocated in this great political conflict. In 1856 Mr. Selby originated the movement for calling a convention of the editors of the anti-Nebraska papers of the State at Decatur. This convention was held on February 22. Mr. Selby was chosen chairman of this convention. In the October, 1912, Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, he gave an interesting account of that convention of which he was the last survivor. He did not attend the Republican State convention, held May 29, 1856, at Bloomington, on account of illness, but was there in spirit and kept in full touch with its important proceedings. Beginning thus early in life as an industrious, influential factor in the building of the great party and in the advocacy of the principles it championed, he continued during more than a quarter of a century of active editorial work a leading spirit in its ranks. It is not too much to say that his influence as an editor did more for the success of his party than did that of many who profited in the distinction and emoluments of office through that success. Mr. Selby was content to labor for the advancement of his principles, modestly refraining from pressing claims for official recognition. He held only two public offices during his long life. In 1865 he was appointed Deputy Collector of Customs at New Orleans, and in 1880 was appointed postmaster at Springfield by President Hayes, an office he held until 1886, resigning that year to be succeeded by the writer of this sketch. Our personal friendly relations were unimpaired by this turning of the scales of politics. After his removal to Chicago in 1889 he frequently visited Springfield and seldom, if ever, failed to call and spend a pleasant hour at the sanctum of the *State Register,* talking over old times and current local events. To me, Mr. Selby's friendship will always be a most agreeable memory.

Mr. Selby was twice married. His first wife was Miss Erra Post, who died in 1865, leaving two daughters, Emily and Erra. In 1870 he married Mrs. Mary J. Hitchcock, of Quincy, who with his two daughters, Dr. Emily Selby, of Chicago, and Mrs. Charles Harmon Johnson, of River Forest, and his devoted stepdaughter, Mrs. Arthur Prince of this city, who as a little child came under his fatherly care, and a stepson, who resides in the state of New York, survive him.

Mr. Selby died March 19 of the present year, in Chicago, and was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery in this city March 22. He passed over to the majority full of years, honored and mourned by all who knew him.

At Mr. Selby's funeral in this city, Major James A. Connolly, former United States District Attorney and Representative in Congress from this district, delivered an address in which he paid an eloquent, loving and just tribute to his close friend of many years. The writer believes it should be preserved in the records of this society, and therefore incorporates it in this sketch. Major Connolly said:

"When a boy, taking up the study of Latin at the academy of the Rev. J. B. Selby, in Ohio, I was not able to supply myself with the necessary Latin lexicon, and Mr. Selby generously supplied me with one of his own, which seemed like a fortune to me then, and I still own and affectionately cherish it. Years afterwards, in conversation with Paul Selby, I learned from him that my Rev. J. B. Selby and Paul Selby were cousins.

"The name Selby had been lovingly remembered by me since my early days at the academy and on meeting Paul Selby years ago and learning of his kinship to the early preceptor, all of the affection and love for my old teacher was revived, and like tendrills of a vine seeking some place to cling, stretched out to Paul Selby, reached him and clung to him now for forty years, and in all these forty years I always found him the same modest, unassuming, intelligent, reliable gentleman as I ever conceived that early teacher of mine to be, and with full and affectionate respect for the memory of Paul Selby I come to his bier today to say that his life has not been in vain.

"He made his mark for good on the age in which he lived, and all the words that have flown from his pen have been for the good of his country and society.

"He was a prime factor in building the great movement that brought Lincoln before the world, and embalmed his name in the kindliest pages of human history—a movement that blotted the stain from our nation's flag. In that movement Paul Selby bore a knightly part 'without fear and reproach' and his name is honorably recorded among its pioneers.

"In his long intellectual life work he was singularly modest and unassuming, and lovable in his companionship among men, but in all his touch with men and current life he was undefiled. He followed his ideas of clean, honorable manhood, and his memory will long remain in this State, where he passed so many useful years—nearly all the time in the full light of active public and semi-public life.

"It is hard to say goodby to so good and worthy a man.

"His widow and surviving children have reason to modify their grief at the parting, by the knowledge that the husband and father, after a full and honorable life, has gone to rest with his work well done, and his name honored, because of his real intellectual manly worth, which is uncorruptible."

The Illinois State Historical Society by the death of Paul Selby loses one of its charter members, and one who was ever active in promoting its interests. He was a faithful attendant at its annual meetings, and took a prominent part in the proceedings. He was chosen first vice-president in 1903, and was the society's first vice-president for four years. He did much as a member and officer to make the society and its library the success they are today. In speaking of him, our worthy

secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, says that Mr. Selby was from the beginning a valuable counsellor and aid to her in the work of her office.

Our friend, Paul Selby has been gathered to his fathers. Like a sheaf of wheat, fully ripened, he has been garnered into the heavenly storehouse.

An able editor, a ripe scholar, a useful citizen, a genuine gentleman, a consistent Christian, Paul Selby will live in the hearts of his friends as a pleasant memory so long as life shall endure.

GENERAL SMITH D. ATKINS.

IN MEMORIAM.

(By Richard V. Carpenter, Belvidere.)

It has been thought appropriate to devote a part of this afternoon's program to the memory of one of our most prominent members. General Smith D. Atkins, for five years a vice-president of the society, who passed on to his reward for a long, active and honorable career, at Freeport, Thursday evening, March 27, 1913.

In every forest there are giant oaks, about which the other trees cluster as their natural leaders and to which they look as their protectors in time of storm. Their roots strike deeper into the fundamental principle—Mother Earth—their heads, lifted above the general run of the forest, have a clearer view of what is above and about.

In that thriving community in Northwestern Illinois, which has as its center the city of Freeport, General Smith D. Atkins has been these many years, as it were a giant oak, and when after a well-filled career of some seventy-eight years, his activities were brought to a close, he left a place in the community that will long remain unfilled.

General Atkins, like many of the people of Northern Illinois, was a native of New York State, being born in Horsehead, Chemung County, June 9, 1835, the place being now known as Fairport. When the boy was eight years old the family and some of their kinsmen came by way of Erie Canal and prairie schooners to Illinois, and took up land just east of Freeport, between that city and Ridott. Among the party was his uncle, Smith Dykins, from whom he took his name, Smith Dykins Atkins. The young man pursued the usual way of ambitious young men of that period, having considerable advantages in way of education, but apparently not having his road all made easy for him, as it is stated that during one winter he suffered considerably from the cold on account of wearing a linen suit, being too poor to buy a woolen suit and too proud to borrow. Being a lawyer myself, I am inclined to think this must have been during the first years of his legal practice.

He started his long newspaper career by working in the *Prairie Democrat* office, at Freeport, for a time, and then attending Rock River Seminary at Mt. Morris, where he had such distinguished fellow-students as Senator Shelby M. Cullom and Congressman Robert R. Hitt. He studied law with Hiram Bright in Freeport, and with Goodrich & Scoville, of Chicago, and afterwards with Oscar Taylor, with whom he formed a partnership in Freeport, the firm being Taylor & Atkins when he enlisted for the war. It was that great struggle of '61 to '65 which brought out in the young man—as it did in so many other young men throughout the North and South—all the energy and ability contained

Gen. Smith D. Atkins.

in him. When the call came he was trying a case as State's Attorney in the Stephenson County Courthouse, and being asked to draw up the enlistment roll, he signed his own name as the first volunteer from his county. In the beautiful home of his former law partner, Oscar Taylor, now deceased, surrounded by its spacious grounds and beautiful old trees, I had the privilege of copying a letter from the young soldier to Miss Winifred Taylor, one of the present chatelaines of the home. I read it because it reflects so accurately and vividly the spirit which animated the whole life of General Atkins. It is dated at Camp Lyon, Birds Point, July 8, 1861; after the first portion, which ran along the lines which gallant young soldiers usually wrote to charming young ladies at home, it read as follows: "I hope there will be a chance to fight, I want to go through or fall in a fierce battle before this war ends. I volunteered to fight and I don't want to be cheated out of it. After I have bidden you "Good Bye," I want to smell gun powder and hear the whistling of leaden balls before I come back again. I think I will. This War must be a fierce one. It may be a long one. It will depend much on the action of Congress now just convened. I will watch their actions closely and God grant that it may not be lacking in manly courage."

General Atkins' career as a soldier was an active, brave and useful one. He did not lack the chance to fight. He first enlisted in the Eleventh Illinois Volunteers and became successively captain (May 14, 1861) and major (February 15, 1862), taking gallant part in the capture of Fort Donelson. He then devoted his energies to raising the Ninety-second Illinois and on September 4, 1862, Governor Yates commissioned him as its colonel. With this regiment his name is most closely associated. At the head of his regiment he was in the battles about Chattanooga and took part in Sherman's March to the Sea. As colonel of this Illinois regiment, his name is a part of the military history of our State and Nation—strict in discipline, but just and well-beloved of his men; sharing their dangers and hardships with them; chivalrous in protecting the southern ladies and children from any rudeness on the part of those few northern soldiers whose zeal outran their politeness; a useful, energetic, able fighting man, at the head of a regiment from our own Prairie State, directing its efforts in the cause of the Union. He was commissioned as brevet brigadier general in January, 1865, and as brevet major general in March, 1865.

The atmosphere up to this time had been one of the North—starting with old New York state, then to that westward extension of New York and New England, northern Illinois, then through the long campaign in the ranks of Blue. But there now creeps into the scene the romantic influence of the South, of that strong, virile people, the settlers of Virginia and the Carolinas, whose westward extension—southern Illinois—and the influence of whose earlier off-shoots—Tennessee and Kentucky—have been the means of making this great Prairie State to be the typical State of the Union, the blending of what is best in the North and in the South, the true standard of Americanism.

It has seldom been the writer's lot to meet a more striking combination of what we most cherish in the historic past of both the North and the South, than in General Atkins' home on Prospect Terrace at Free-

port. Hanging along the walls of the hallway, were the General's commissions in the Union army, framed—some signed by Governor Richard Yates and the later ones by Abraham Lincoln. In the library and in the attic there was a wealth of historic matter concerning old North Carolina, including bound volumes of newspapers dated back just after the Revolutionary War, and many documents signed by prominent southern statesmen. On the wall hung a silk flag—borne at the Revolutionary battle of Camden. And the southern hospitality—which the writer of this paper enjoyed a short time ago—rested over the whole home.

Little did young Colonel Atkins, as he rode into Chapel Hill, N. C., with his regiment, during Sherman's March to the Sea, expect that he was going to such a complete surrender to a southern victor before night. It became his duty, as a matter of form, to arrest the president of the State University—located at Chapel Hill—David L. Swain, one of North Carolina's distinguished sons who had been the governor of the state, With southern courtesy, Governor Swain invited his captor to his home. The family tradition is, that the youngest daughter, Miss Eleanor, stated to her father that she was not going to sit at the same table with that young Yankee. However, as the Governor intimated that such conduct would not be polite, she consented to sit at the table, but declared that she would not say one word to him. The young colonel, upon seeing her, decided that there should be a union of the states at once, so far as he was concerned, and with his usual firm determination he succeeded in securing the young lady's consent to marry him, before he went away that night. In both love and war, in those days, events followed one another quickly. In 1865 they were married and settled in the same home on Prospect Terrace at Freeport, in which General Atkins died, the house having been added to from time to time as the occasion arose. Mrs. Atkins died thirty-one years ago.

After the war General Atkins again took up the practice of law, but soon became interested in newspaper work. He was first interested in the *Northwest,* which was afterward merged in the *Freeport Journal* in 1866, and from that time until 1883 he for various periods owned a part interest in the paper. In the last named year the Freeport Journal Printing Company was organized, in which he acquired the controlling interest and his strong and able personality guided the policies and conduct of the paper until his death. (*See* Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, page 180.)

He was appointed postmaster of Freeport in 1865 by Lincoln and was continued in office by Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, being the postmaster of the city from war times until his death, except during the two administrations of Cleveland.

In everything pertaining to the good of Freeport and Stephenson County, he was an active leader. Among his most cherished activities were those in connection with the Lincoln-Douglas Semi-Centennial in 1908 and the marking of the lot in which the debate was held with a large boulder. He was for many years the president of the Old Settlers' Association of the county, which has held an annual meeting the last Wednesday in August for many years in Cedarville, about six miles north of Freeport, that village being, incidentally, the girlhood home of Jane

Addams. Among his many other activities, General Atkins was a Mason, a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, and that of the Army of the Cumberland. Perhaps his greatest interest in societies was in the Loyal Legion. He was also a member of several of the press associations. He was elected second vice-president of this society in January, 1908, and held that office until his death. He did considerable writing on historical matters, including a History of the Ninety-second Illinois, written in 1875, and various pamphlets, including one on the Battle of Chickamagua, which he regarded as a "useless battle," and an address given at Streator on Abraham Lincoln. For this latter pamphlet there has been a wide call, including requests from many of the American colleges and from several great universities across the sea.

General Atkins' successor as the head of the *Journal* was his son-in-law, Mr. Needham T. Cobb. Mr. Cobb is himself a southerner, being connected with many of the prominent North Carolina families. He came to Freeport in 1906 and took much of the labor in running the paper from the General's shoulders in 1910. During the last years of his life, General Atkins confined his editorial work to the editorial page of the weekly and one issue of the *Daily*. His editorials were widely quoted. He worked in his library at his home and it was sitting at his desk, surrounded by his library of many books on history and government, that much of the material for this article was gathered. As a journalist, he disliked sensational methods—or methods which he considered sensational—and when the younger members of the staff, on such important occasions as a disastrous cloud-burst in the county, or the sinking of the "Titanic," ventured to "break the columns" and spread the news over more than one column in width, they never breathed easy until they knew whether the General disapproved of such a departure from the old conservative ideals. Since General Atkins' death the *Journal* has been consolidated with another Freeport paper.

General Atkins died March 27, 1913. His funeral was the largest ever held in Freeport. The writer of this paper attended as one of the delegates for this society. The large rooms of the home were filled and many stood on the lawn as the citizens passed through to view their old friend for the last time, the favorite martial tunes, such as "Marching Through Georgia," were played on the piano (an heirloom picked out for Governor Swain in 1833 by George Bancroft, the historian). The pall bearers were the veteran employees of the postoffice, in uniform, and among those present were the carrier boys of the *Journal,* who went in a body of their own accord to pay their last respects to their old employer. The monument marking his resting place is the old composing-stone upon which for so many years were made up the forms for the *Journal.* It was chosen by the family as the most fitting memorial of one whose life had been so closely allied with the newspaper business.

General Atkins' nature was a positive one; when he thought a thing should be done so and so, it was usually so done, but his influence was for the good, his judgment correct, and his work was directed to the building up of his country and making Freeport what he loved to call it, "Good Old Freeport."

Scarcely a branch of Freeport's activities has not felt his strong personality; he was always active and even after his death his words were heard in a Memorial Day address which he had already prepared for a city in Iowa. Upon his desk was also found an account of the city election at Freeport which had not yet occurred, but written as if it had already happened and which was very accurate as to the real results which did take place. He loved children and they always knew that their boyish depredations on fruits or flowers would be excused by their stern-looking, but kindly, old friend.

We can best close by repeating two lines of a poem written concerning him as a dashing young colonel by one of the young ladies during war time:

"We'll make his bed among the red, red roses and the lilies,
Firm and enduring as his adamantine will is."

So long as Stephenson County remains one of the most favored portions of northwestern Illinois, so long as our Prairie State stands as one of the grandest—and to us the dearest—in the sisterhood of states, so long will the name of Smith D. Atkins remain one of theirs and our deeply cherished memories.

Stephen A. Douglas.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, THE EXPANSIONIST.

(By Frank E. Stevens, Dixon.)

Undoubtedly Thomas Jefferson will remain in our histories for all time, the country's greatest expansionist. His wise forethought; his prudence in negotiation as well as his action in hurrying emissaries to the Pacific Coast to head off expeditions sent forward by England, added to our domain practically all the land lying west of the Mississippi River.

The ambition of Douglas to expand, was as great as that of Jefferson, but because Jefferson had secured about all the land on the continent thought to be worth while, he had to remain satisfied with his efforts in the Mexican annexation, so far as annexing new territory was made possible. But perhaps it was better for him and better for all of us that his great genius was addressed to the task of building up what Jefferson acquired and what fell to us from Mexico, than by fulfilling his ambition, we ultimately had extended our country from the Artic to the Gulf and that we had reached out into the sea as he predicted we might, to take in the islands of the Pacific. The expansion wrought by Douglas made for our country's greatness as the work of no other statesman ever has made in our history.

That ambition, early manifested, placed him in the chairmanship of the Committee on Territories, in the House, and when he entered the Senate, the prestige of the chairmanship carried him into the chairmanship of the same committee in the higher body. And during his entire encumbency it was tremendously important and exacting and it had to be handled at all times with a delicacy altogether unreasonable. Toward its close, the word unbearable would fit the case better. The concluding chapter was his deposition by the caucus of the Senate, which as much as the firing on Sumter, signified secession.

Through all the embarrassments of that position, Douglas toiled, pleaded, fought, compromised, yet ever persisted, and that persistence, which the southern members early learned to know, could not be curbed in or out of a caucus, ended in the bolt at the Charleston convention at which his enemies repudiated every compromise and every party pledge. Douglas' plan of building up the West, amended more or less during terrible emergencies, was to place beyond the Mississippi River a cordon of free territory which slavery could never penetrate and while he had added many great states and territories, the political career of Douglas ended when he refused to sanction the party tactics used to keep Kansas and Nebraska out of the Union. The consuming ambition of Douglas was to see his country grow and prosper; to see its vast wealth developed; to see it filled with the oppressed of other nations, and of that power and

wealth, he was very jealous. He opposed the treaty of Guadaloupe, because of its clause forbidding this country ever taking over any more Mexican territory except under certain restrictions almost impossible. It will be remembered that he opposed the ratification of the Bulwer-Clayton treaty because it restricted this country in future efforts to build a canal across the Isthmus. How forceful must his wisdom appeal to us at this very moment when both those questions are of such importance to us?

During the debate over the Oregon boundary, Douglas favored "fifty-four forty or fight" because it enlarged this country's boundary. Douglas essentially was of the West; he believed in the West by adopting it as his home, yet never was he a sectional man. Time and again he stated from his seat that he knew no South; no North; no West and no East. But because the West was new and unpeopled; because its development meant increased prosperity, and increased population, he was ambitious for his home State of Illinois to profit by that development.

Douglas was one of the shrewdest business men that ever entered the United States Senate. At an early day he foresaw the possibilities of Chicago. Wherefore, to that point he removed upon his elevation to the Senate and there he invested heavily in real estate, from which he profited and from which he would have attained immense wealth, but for his untimely death.

When to develop the western country, the necessity of a railroad began to be agitated, Douglas naturally favored the one proposed for Nebraska with a terminus at or near the present Omaha. He believed Chicago would become the base of supplies for the travel which was certain to pour into the country which such a road would open. He favored such a railroad because it would develop the new West, just as he favored granting to the Illinois Central Railroad the gift of land to aid in its construction. He believed the road once built, would bring Illinois into the first rank as a State. His notable position in favor of the admission of California with its two anti-slavery senators which would overbalance the slave-holding states in the Senate, more than anything else should compel belief to the unprejudiced mind that Douglas never trimmed for political influence or position. That position more than anything else convinced the slavery leaders who controlled the nominations for the presidency, that Stephen A. Douglas never would consent to a compromise which might even remotely retard the growth of his country. He favored the instant admission of California.

Study him carefully and you will find him always favoring the erection of new territories, and then so soon thereafter as possible, you found him favoring the admission of that or those territories into states. No influence, no ambition, no threat, no possibility was permitted to interfere with his almost impatient haste to add states to the Union just as fast as possible, whether they adopted slavery or not.

Nobody so well as Douglas knew what the new states would do with slavery so soon as they had achieved statehood. The vast army of the oppressed of Europe whose faces were turned towards this country lived in the temperate zone. Rarely indeed did they ever slip over to the south of the latitude they had left. Did any change, it generally was

for one more northern. With their almost insane passion for freedom; for free homes; free schools; freedom of voice and the opportunity afforded to secure for nothing, a free home, it was not to be presumed that such immigrants ever would favor any law upon the statute book of their adopted states which oppressed another as they had been oppressed, even though that other's skin was black. But open the new country and slavery would take care of itself.

But one man seem to divine Douglas' views; that was John C. Calhoun, one of the shrewdest of all statesmen. In a speech characteristic of him, he predicted this very increase of free states, which if admitted, must of course out vote the slave states. Wherefore, he then and there advocated secession without delay.

While he died soon afterwards, the influence of that speech survived and very soon, Douglas noticed that none of his recommendations for new territories and new states received votes enough to be carried. More than likely, his bills and his recommendations, were smothered or debated into the waste baskets. At all events as people continued to pour into Kansas and Nebraska, those communities began clamoring for a government, strong enough to afford local protection. Bills to erect them into territories had been strangled many times. Atchison attempted to make a speech consenting to the bills for the erection of Kansas. The St. Louis merchants, his constituents, demanded it. While trying to square himself with his party and yet hold the loyalty of his merchant constituents, Atchison exposed the plans of his brother senators who feared for slavery. The squatter sovereignty plan of Cass, adopted by Douglas, which had sounded so nicely in theory, had failed to work out any practical results. The slave-holding senators discovered that the free soil voters were far too numerous in Kansas to take a chance. They found also that ballot box stuffing, murders and armed mobs could not defeat the determined votes and voters of the abolition and free soil people. It was found too that one important individual, feared not to fight them in their activities. That person was Douglas. Knowing full well that his opposition to the plans of his party and to Buchanan's weak policies meant the nomination for president for another, Douglas fought with all his great strength, for the freedom of Kansas and Nebraska. Atchison's speech developed the opposition to be expected from those who would consent to nothing less than the repeal of the old and honored Missouri Compromise. Douglas begged Dixon to withdrew his proposed amendment, but without avail. The matter was canvassed with the Iowa senators. Iowa was desirous to see Nebraska organized as a territory. They were anxious to see the Pacific railroad built. They like Douglas, especially Dodge, knew full well that the free soil people would outnumber the pro-slavery people many to one in all the remaining territory which might become states and they counseled a report which Douglas, it will be remembered, filed with his bills for the erection of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

Douglas at last enlisted in support of the fight which repealed the old Missouri Compromise. The bills were passed and Kansas and Nebraska began immediately to fill up. John Brown's activities; the Missouri forces; the invaders and all the border outlawry followed, and

all of those actions Douglas opposed. That opposition was the parting of the ways. He was deposed from his chairmanship of the Committee on Territories; but his work had been done well. Many states and territories had been added by him. His love of fair play had been preached too long and into too many ears. What he could not finish from his committee room, the people finished for him. The great West filled rapidly. It became tributary to Chicago, just as he had predicted. The influence of the Mississippi Valley had become overpowering, just as he had foreseen, and just as he had predicted, it became anti-slavery territory. Many a time he had said that if let alone, the domestic economy of the southern states would take care of the defective parts of its political economy and that is true. He could see that business development eventually would smother slave labor. He saw plainly enough that the vast majority of the population would settle north of Mason and Dixon's line and that it would exert the influence required to retire slave labor. All of his prophesies have been fulfilled.

I realize that I have neglected to oblige you with dates and details. To have done this, would keep us here all night. The brief allusions I have made, took long and bitter years to enact. To deal with the subject justly or aptly in half an hour, is hopelessly impossible.

A close study of Douglas as an expansionist would require many pages. They would be interesting pages; they would be entertaining pages and in justice to a great Illinois statesman, they should be embodied into book form and made a volume for the Historical Library. It is a shame to notice so many insignificant matters of Illinois history magnified into book forms while Douglas and his great works are suffered to smoulder. In the nature of things, they may be lost and our people will be deprived of their honest heritage. More than to any other individual, the State of Illinois owes its first step to greatness, to Stephen A. Douglas. While he opposed the old internal improvement development schemes, that opposition proved his mastery over the question of what was and what was not substantial development. In supporting the Illinois Central and the Union Pacific Railroads, he was able to distinguish fact from the fiction. His judgment of Chicago was correct. His judgment of his state and of the West, has proved his sagacity and his last public act in defending the freedom and the entirety of our country, has placed his patriotism beyond the reach of criticism.

Part of Franquelin's Map, 1684.

PART III—CONTRIBUTORS TO STATE HISTORY.

DE LERY'S ERROR AGAIN.

(By John F. Steward.)

Since preparing my article entitled "Conflicting Accounts Found in Early Illinois History," published in the Transactions for 1908, I recalled the fact that the Illinois River, as a whole, had, at one time been called the Macoupin, after our beautiful pond lillies that so adorn its nooks. On Franquelin's map of 1684 it is so shown. Referring now to DeLery's statement that the small stream he shows on his map, as flowing "Eastward," "Proche cette de Macoupin," and to the fact that the smaller stream at the foot of Maramech Hill, before being turned by man to turn his wheels, ran "Eastwardly" thereby and then reached the main tributary of the Macoupin, of the Algonquin tribes, Fox River, as we know it, it seems more clear than I stated that De Lery mixed two stories. He had evidently learned of an old fort the Foxes had made near the headwaters of the Kankakee, referred to by LaSalle and Charlevoix and, seemingly, having before made his maps, jumped to the conclusion that the runner's account of the slaughter of the Foxes there took place, which point is, in fact, about "50 lieues L'Est Sud est du Rocher." I understand that the French liegue at that time was two and forty-two hundredths miles. This true, the distance from either rock would be about 121 miles. The rock on Fox River is "near" the rock on the Illinois River as it is but 12 liegues away.

"COLONIE DU SIEUR DE LA SALLE."

(By JOHN F. STEWARD.)

After Dollier and Gallinée left LaSalle, on Lake Erie, in 1669, little is known of his wanderings, in his dream to reach the sea of the West. We learn, however, that he went down the Ohio as far as the Falls, at Louisville, at least; and I am not alone in thinking that he may have gone much farther. The familiarity later shown with the Illinois and Indiana countries, at the time his greater plans were being laid, could have been little less than the result of extensive wanderings in those regions by him. We have few definite records of his travels during the years between 1669 and 1679, although Perrot, who had accompanied him down the Ohio, in 1669, speaks of having met him on the Ottawa River in 1670, hunting with a party of Iroquois. It is possible that he may then have been returning from the upper lakes where the meager accounts place his unrecorded explorations. It may have been that, following the instincts of the true explorer, so marked in him, and at the instance of Governor Frontenac, and in the interest of the King, he explored a part of what we, of this State, consider the garden spot of the world, praised so highly by the early French explorers.*

He had met Joliet on Lake Erie, when the latter was returning from the upper lakes, and had read the accounts of the later journey of Joliet and his fellow traveler Marquette (an invited guest whom the Jesuits proclaimed to be the discoverer of the Mississippi River). He had listened to the tales of the earlier fur traders. He may have conversed with Nicolet, with Radison and with Grosillier, the first fur traders of the West, but it does not seem that such information alone could have warranted him in taxing his friends so far beyond his ability to repay. It seems on the contrary, that only his own explorations, during the years not made clear; the personal accounts given by an enthusiast, could have brought forth the needed means. The fur trade was to bring returns to his creditors, the glory was to be his.

Joliet, when on the Mississippi, knew of LaSalle's earlier exploration of the Ohio, and on the various maps that I have at hand, he placed the mouth of that river approximately correct.

On his large map of 1674, a copy of which may be found on page 212, vol. 4, of Narative and Critical History, we find the Ohio drawn in, and along it the words, "Route du Sieur de LaSalle pour aller dans le Mexique," which, in plain English means, route taken by Sieur de LaSalle to go to Mexico. The parts of the river do not correctly join, however, and it is thought by some that the Ohio was drawn in by a

* See Note 2 at foot of page 98.

later hand. Nevertheless it seems to me that the river, from its source, was later there drawn by Joliet, himself, or by a contemporary familiar with all the facts that have come down to us.

I have used the word contemporary advisedly, as, on a map reproduced by Pinart, and stated by him to have been made in 1680, and by Harrisse, the French map expert, in 1679, we find the full information then known to cartographers, and there is shown the lower portion of the Ohio properly placed.

Joliet's and Marquette's maps also show the mouth of the river approximately in the right place. Franquelin's maps of 1684 and 1688 make the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi clear.

The accompanying sketch, taken from the map of 1684 shows, in dotted lines, that portion, aside from the military headquarters, of LaSalle's Colony. The extent of his alleged colony is found to have been fleeting, as the dotted line is omitted in the later map. On the

earlier Franquelin map, as seen in the sketch, is placed Maramech, a few years later referred to by the Governor of New France as that great village, and its people referred to as "Miamis of Maramech," including the Pepikokias who were living near the Illinois River.

(O'Callaghan, not being well informed, wrongly places the Miamis of Maramech on the Marame River of Michigan, now known as the Kalamazoo River, and he is blindly followed by other writers. For proof of the error see "Lost Maramech and Earliest Chicago," page 71, by the present writer.)

Of the sixty-eight old maps in my possession, not one shows any village on the Kalamazoo River, and seven show Maramech on the Fox River of Illinois.

I account for the error, in part, by the fact that, when O'Callaghan prepared his compilation, the Franquelin map of 1684 was not at hand.

On that map the river Marame, east of Lake Michigan, and the town on the Pestecuoy, (the Fox River of Illinois) are both shown where are also shown the Pepikokias, Miamis of Maramech.

Before him should have been an old English map drawn about 1790, showing the Kalamazoo as the Barbue entering Lake Michigan, and Maramek River entering the Mississippi below the mouth of the Missouri River. On one of Popple's maps of the great lake region the Kalamazoo is laid down, as given by the French, "Riviere de la Barbue ou Marameg," and the well knewn stream entering the Mississippi as "Maramec ou de la Barbue." On that map, however, our ancient town is changed to "Maraux."

Map No. 28, in the library of the Chicago Historical Society, gives the name of the Michigan stream and that of Missouri as Marameg, and near the latter are the words, "Mines of Marameg." The confusion in names was due to the fact that the various Algonquin tribes gave the names of any stream prolific in spiny fish, as for instance, the sturgeon, bull head, and other spring fish, as Marameg, Maramec, or some similar form, as spelled by the French.

In forming his colonie LaSalle depended largely upon the Miamis, and sought to bring the various villages together. At times a part were near the Wisconsin River, part on the Mississippi, part on the St. Joseph, the Illinois, and a large part on the Fox River of Illinois, as we know that stream.

The Iroquois, after the destruction of the Hurons, sought other worlds to conquer, or, perhaps merely an extension of their hunting grounds, (largely at the instance of the English), and made repeated attacks on the Miami and Illinois tribes, ultimately, with the aid of allies, years later driving the latter from their long-time home in the northern part of our State to southern Illinois, where they established their new Kaskaskia. LaSalle, early seeing his interests jeopardised, at once sought to bring about a union of the mutually jealous branches of the Miamis and the Illinois, in order that the incursions of the Iroquois might be forestalled.

(After LaSalle's death the union, in part, was brought about and the Iroquois were limited in their western operations. Bowles' map of 1783 shows a dotted line along the Illinois and Chicago rivers, there having the word "Quadhoghe," that word constituting one of the names given by them to the Hurons, and the line was considered to mark the western limit of their claims. On the same map, by the way, we find the words, "These parts and rivers were discovered by the English in 1634," which statement may well be doubted). LaSalle thought best to first work through the Miamis and then take in the Illinois and other Algonquin tribes. In an account found in Margry, part 1, page 525, and part 2, page 139, LaSalle, referring to his voyages from August 22 to the autumn of 1680, touches upon his proposed union of the people in the interest of his proposed colony, in the interest of France and perhaps in the financial interest of the governor of New France, as stated by some of the early writers. At the time last mentioned we find LaSalle at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, having stopped there while search-

ing for his Lieutenant Tonty, who had passed up the Desplaines River, (then known as the Chicagou by the natives), and along the lake shore to the Pottowattomies. On his arrival at the St. Joseph he found twenty or thirty people of several nations, with women and children, who had been at war with the English, evidently driven from their homes beyond the Hudson, who, at that time, were hunting on the lands westward of those actually occupied by the Iroquois. He then found an opportunity to join these people with the western tribes, that also spoke the Algonquin tongue, and to have a representative remain with them. They had been pursuaded by LaSalle's man in charge of the little post at the mouth of the St. Joseph River to await the arrival of his leader and hold a conference with him. LaSalle came and as he approached his little dog ran before him so that Nanangoucy, ("c' est le nom de mon sauvage," this is the name of my savage) of the tribe of the Minisous from near Boston, came to meet him. The latter told what had been done in contemplation of a treaty with the Iroquois, but that if LaSalle wished to establish himself with the Illinois or the Miamis, his people, with about thirty others would follow; that he would assist in this and only require that he be made chief of his (LaSalle's) nation. It thus appears that this Algonquin from the East was to be made the chief of the then existing, or soon to exist, town of Maramech, the principal town of the colony, as will soon appear. (This Algonquin must not be confused with Nanangousi, mentioned by O'Callaghan as having lived 67 years later.)

With LaSalle, during his travels for two years, had been the son of a chief who lived near Boston, to whom was left the negotiations.

Jealousies had existed among the Miami chiefs, but the attacks of the Iroquois forced attempts to reach a compromise. To the St. Joseph also came a hundred of the Miamis from the vicinity of Kaskaskia, the Illinois village near what we know as Starved Rock. These people were returning from an excursion against the Iroquois, led by one of their principal chiefs. There also came 150 warriors from the region of the Ohio River, begging of the Frenchmen the assistance of the King of France for protection, and of this opportunity LaSalle sought to avail himself to further his schemes.

Soon after the Indians from near Boston informed him that two canoes were ready to take him to the Miamis. It seems likely that the Miamis referred to were those who had been at war with the Iroquois and the route taken was by way of the Kankakee, the Illinois, and the Pestecuoy (our Fox River) on which Maramech was to be, or already was, situated. (The herds of buffalo lent their name to our beautiful river because of their abundance on our prairies.)

Nanangousista (Nanangouci, of LaSalle's phraseology) some years later was "chief of that great village," Maramech, chosen to that position through the influence of the Frenchman. Arriving at the Miamis he found three Iroquois who were endeavoring to persuade the people to aid in the destruction of the Illinois tribe. The flight of the three during the night had a good effect on the Miamis, who then listened to the long talk of LaSalle, which was accompanied by presents, as seals to his promises. Following the custom of some of the tribes (but apparently

not that of the Miamis) he resuscitated, as it was termed, a deceased chief, by assuming his name, saying: "Ouabicolcata—no longer believe that he is dead; I have his spirit and his soul in my body; I revive his name; I am another Ouabicolcata, and I take the same care of his family as he while with you. I no longer call myself Okimao but Ouabicolcata. He is no longer dead; he lives and his family shall no longer be in need. His soul is in the body of a Frenchman who has much of all you need." After other promises, sealed by more presents, response was made by Ouabichagan, who said: "We never have seen, my brother Ouabicolcata, a thing so surprising. It must be that the one that thou hast given life to is a great spirit; he renders the sky more beautiful; the sun is brighter; we are ashamed to have nothing to present to him to equal the presents he has made to us." Much more was said, but suffice it to end with this: "The Illinois is our brother, since he has acknowledged our father who has returned to life our brother. But as he is our father in common, we pray that he may give sense to our brother, the Illinois, who is accustomed to eat the flesh of man, which custom he will not quit unless our father forbids it."

The governor of New France had frequently made war against the Iroquois, always followed by a formal treaty of peace, soon to be broken, but LaSalle felt called upon to say that he did not favor going to war against the Iroquois by any of the tribes he sought to become members of his colony. He knew, and the proposed component parts of his colony-to-be knew, that clear skies were only a dream.

He had met the Illinois sometime earlier at their village, Kaskaskia, had estimated their number of warriors at twelve hundred and had made many promises of aid and protection from incursions of the Iroquois, whom he thought to be superior in bravery and who were accustomed to the use of firearms. His promise to the Illinois induced them to offer to go to the sea with him by way of the Mississippi River.

They saw plainly that, that river once opened, they then could procure firearms and other necessities without interference from the eastern tribes.

By opening up the great river LaSalle hoped, not only to open up to French settlement the valley of his proposed colony, but to call within reach thereof many of the tribes located far to the southwest, then trading with the Spaniards of Mexico. The beauty of the valleys and prairies and their fertility were dwelt upon, when communicating with his friends and associates in France. Wild hemp was abundant, buffalo wool would become a great commodity, mines of coal, iron and copper were in, and within reach of, the proposed colony.

Tanneries, with bark at hand, could find ample market for their products in France. The prairies needed the plow only, and that could be worked by the buffalo.

Furs could be brought down every tributary to the mouth of the great river to awaiting vessels. The rapid settlement, after opening the river, would permit the withdrawal of a large French force from Canada with which, and allies from the western tribes, he could wrest from the Spaniards the mines of Mexico. Such was another of his dreams, but far therefrom the realization.

The tribes that LaSalle had half cemented became, to some extent, proof against the eastern enemies, and they joined the French in attempts to defeat, or at least overawe the Iroquois. The Miamis were in the majority; at least such was the case when various minor nations allied themselves therewith.

In an address by the governor of New France to a deputation of Miamis who visited Montreal, he said: "You, Mesatonga and you Nanangousista, are chiefs of that great village," referring to Maramech. Although the termination of the second name mentioned differs, as was often the case in the various accounts when written by persons not accustomed to a language, it seems that LaSalle's promise held good until long after his death. While the buffalo remained on our prairies and beavers and other animals, fine of fur, had not been hunted to extinction, the interests of Canada were such as to prompt careful supervision of the natives thus in part allied, and to better do so, to establish secure trading posts and a chain of small forts, as LaSalle had, in fact, begun. Nicholas Perrot, who had accompanied LaSalle on his early explorations, nicknamed by his comrades "Petit Ble," (Little Corn), soon after La Salle's death had become known, being one of the most prominent travelers and traders, was appointed to supervise the nations of the region of the erstwhile colony, one of his trading stations being at Maramech. His principal trading post, however, was on the Mississippi River. Of him we read: "In addition to these officers who have their stations fixed, the man named Perrot is to occupy one in the immediate neighborhood of the Miamis, in order to execute whatever will be ordered. This place is called Malamet (called by LaPotherie .Maramek, when referring to Perrot), and a great concourse of Indians repair thither, among whom this man has a great amount of influence.

(De La Potherie was a contemporary of Perrot, and authors generally acknowledge that he received much of the information regarding the western tribes at first-hand from the latter. See De La Potherie, "Histoire De L'Amerique Septentrionale 1 & 21.)

Perrot himself refers to the Pepikokias as Miamis of Maramek, and they are shown, on Franquelin's map as being practically a part of LaSalle's colony. So far, in my extended investigations, I have found no reference to any of the villages grouped in and about LaSalle's colony since 1700, but they are shown on many maps in my possession. Charlevoix, who passed down the Illinois River in 1721, speaks in words of praise of the region of LaSalle's colony, but mentions none of the Indian towns there located. Fort St. Louis on "The Rock," had long been abandoned and the people of Kaskaskia had founded their new town far to the south. It seems that Maramech had been abandoned before 1730, as we find no mention of it in the military accounts of that year, when referring to the destruction of the Foxes nearby the "Little River," for a time called, as yet is its larger tributary in Kane County, "Battle Creek."

Quite likely the governor of New France, through Perrot, had succeeded in pursuading the Miamis of Maramech to smother their jealousies and "move their fires" and unite with their brothers on the

St. Joseph River, where most of the Miamis were later found, as shown by many maps of the time. Cartographers were inclined to follow each others delineations of old as well as new errors, and as late as 1718 our beautiful Fox River is given the name "Riviere du Rocher," (River of the large rounded Rock), its foot bathed thereby, the river having an erroneous termination, but the town properly placed but called "Maraux." Popple's map, in the Yale Library, shows Maraux and the beautiful hills thereby. At the time this map was made and the coming of another generation, LaSalle was here known only in tradition.

Aside from the Citadel on the Rock, our valley was at first best known of all parts of our now so prosperous State. Later the region became no-mans-land, hunted by bands grown more nomadic in their natures. Of the erstwhile fields of corn and melons few remained, and the few were off the trails. The buffalo soon passed over the "Father of waters."

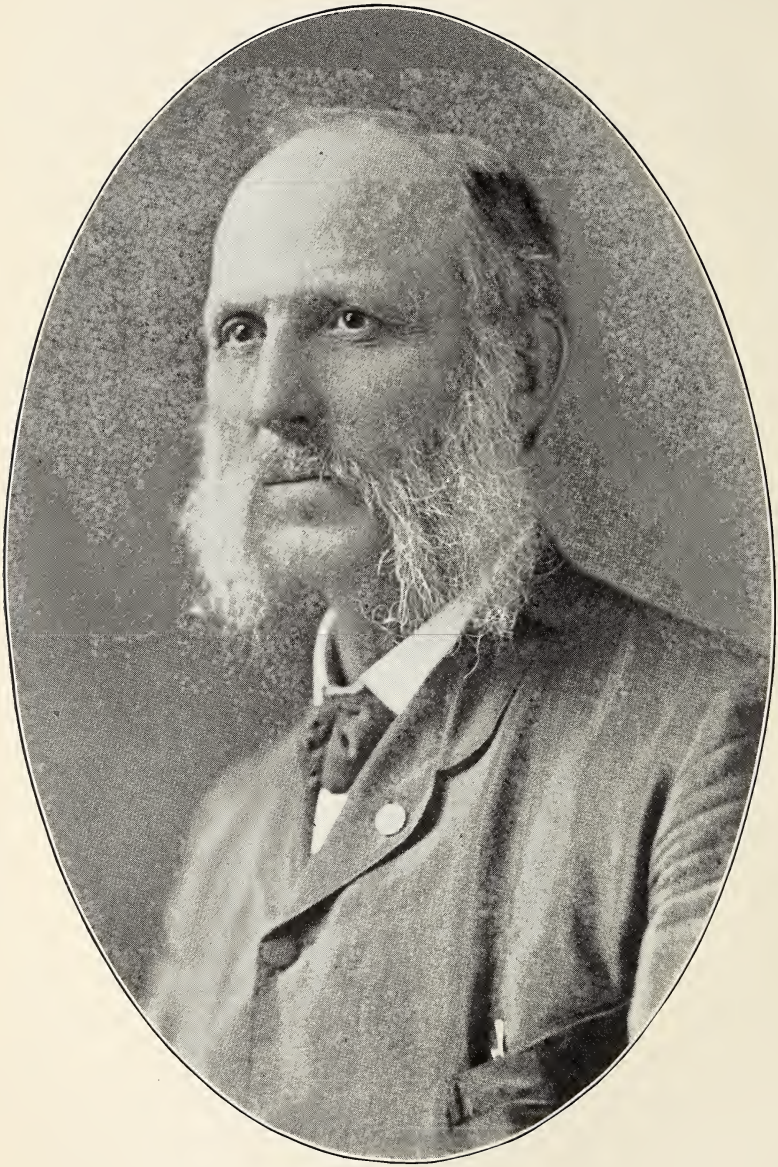
Vanished were the dreams of LaSalle. His day-dreams began to vanish when, in 1685, he sailed beyond the mouth of the Mississippi, led by his error in longitude, and died with him in the wilds of Texas; then vanished the prospects of France in our valleys. We read words of praise of our present homes, those of Joutel, Tonty, Cavalier (the priest-brother of LaSalle) as words of prophesy—words not overdrawn.

We cross the seas to eastern lands and return to appreciate anew the high estimate placed by the Frenchmen on the fertility of our soils.

NOTE.—The nomenclature of our early history, its rivers, towns and particularly its tribes was not constant. It is often found that a single river, or an Indian chief is spelled in a half dozen ways.

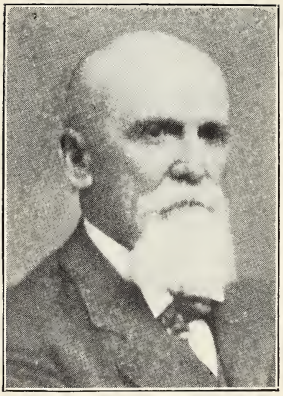
NOTE 1.—The nomenclature of our early history, its rivers, towns and particularly its tribes was not constant. It is often found that the name of a single river, or an Indian chief is spelled in a half dozen ways.

NOTE 2.—I have before me a photographic reprint of a map in which the statement is made that the Mississippi river, in its entirety was discovered by the Jesuits. In this regard I quote from LaPotherie a clause which shows that LaSalle had already wandered about the western region: "The discovery of the sea of the South held strongly to the heart of Mr. Talon who threw the eyes on the sieus Joliet, to make the attempt. He had voyaged with the Ottawas: the knowledge that he had already of this country would give to him enough light to undertake this discovery. His voyage was nothing more than an enchantment of adventures that alone would make a volume, but to cut short he penetrated as far as the Arkansas, that was three hundred leagues from the mouth of the Mississippi. The Illinois who had accompanied him brought him back by another route, shorter by two hundred leagues and made him enter in the river Saint Joseph, where Monsieur de la Sale had commenced an establishment."

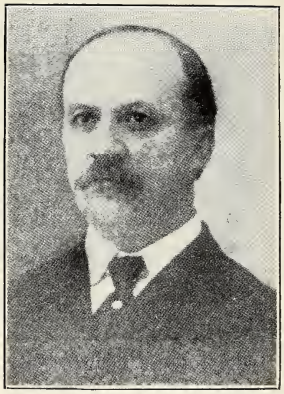


JOHN F. STEWARD.

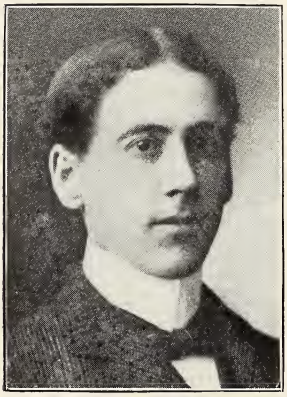
The discoverer of Lost Meramach.



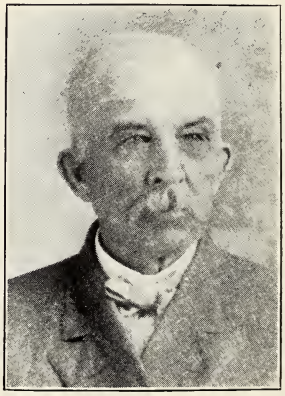
AVERY N. BEEBE.
President Meramach Society.



DR. I. E. BENNETT.
Ex-President
Meramach Society.



GEORGE S. STEWARD.



HARLAN P. BARNES.
Vice-President
Meramach Society.

THE MERAMECH CLUB.

(By A. N. Beebe.)

All literary clubs and kindred organizations should be liberally endowed with fraternal fellowship, toleration and moral stamina; and should be membered with the best class of citizens, irrespective of all creeds and conditions in life, religious or political, conditioned only on the high and lofty standard of respectability and integrity. To adopt and live up to this axiom is no trifling task or of easy accomplishment. The proneness of human kind to fall below their high standards is as natural as life itself.

The Meramech Club of Kendall County was first organized in Plano as the Sunset Club, in January, 1900, on the occasion of a birthday party of E. W. Faxon, who had invited as many friends as represented the number of his years, to celebrate his birthday anniversary. The personel of this party was E. W. Faxon, Prof. Alfred Cook, Prof. J. R. Freeborn, Dr. I. E. Bennett, Dr. B. E. Ladue, George H. Scott, L. K. Woodman, W. H. Jones, Harry Paradise, Frank H. Earl, Amer B. Cook, J. E. Bates, Henry Stahlle, Frank W. Lord, James M. Sears, Ivan L. Smith, Ward E. Shaw, A. E. Hinckley, James Crick, Julian R. Steward, Hugh D. Henning, Charles A. Darnell, Charles M. Morris, W. L. Means, William Deering Steward, William Whitfield, George S. Faxon, George S. Steward, Loren D. Henning, C. Emmet Jeter, Hon. Charles T. Cherry, Hon. J. Bert Castle, and Walter M. Foster, and others.

After a bounteous banquet had been served, and many general topics had been discussed, Mr. Charles A. Darnell was called on to explain the motion which led up to the formation of the Meramech Club. It was the desire that such a club be organized as would insure permanency, to bind together the citizens in friendly relations and establish good will and friendly business rivalry.

CODE OF ETHICS.

No clubhouse; no constitution; no debts, no profanity; no fines; no combines; no dress coats; no late hours; no perfumed notes; no parliamentary votes; no personalities; no vituperation; no accounts; no dues; no by-laws; no long speeches; no dictation; no litigation; and many other "noes" and a few other impossibilities.

However we soon found a club with no one to direct, no one responsible for what was done—was like a ship without a compass or without a captain—moreover we w. . up against another proposition—our code of ethics was overloaded and no finance for ballast. The heat, light

and fuel companies were firing bills at us. The butcher, the baker, and the candlestick makers must be paid, so we got busy. Some of our code articles had to be eliminated. If we continued with "no dues" "no debts," there soon would come "vituperation" and "litigation." Nevertheless a club so auspiciously begun gathering force and new members at every meeting was not to be sidetracked merely for lack of a bank account.

We have tried to make our club a permanent organization. It has passed the experimental stage and has had an existence of thirteen years and appears like a good robust organization. Hardly a meeting passes but we add from two to half a dozen new members. We have a strong auxiliary represented by the wives and daughters of the members, which is a very welcome aid and comes on at the pleasure of the Executive Committee. "Ladies Night" means a hearty response and a large attendance, as the ladies give to these functions great spirit and enthusiasm. The ladies' assistance means added vim to our program, and they never flinch when drafted into the list of speakers. They have discussed many very interesting topics.

Our club started under the most favorable conditions, all the members were enthusiastic and determined to fulfill every requirement of the code. We soon enlisted as members the very best element in all parts of our country. The teachers and the preachers, the doctors and the lawyers, and all classes of professional and tradesmen, business men, together with our farmers flocked to our standard, only unstinted praise came from all our newly acquired members, and our invited guests expressed ardent satisfaction with the aims, objects and management of the club, and they generally became enthusiastic members.

We find the younger men of the club are inclined to be reserved and reticent when the call comes for volunteer speeches, but we remedy this to some extent by publishing a list of ten or twenty names previously selected; this affords them opportunity to prepare, and most of them will respond in short appropriate speeches. In the management of our club we find the members are remunerated by being drafted into writing a paper on a chosen and to them unfamiliar topic, simply because they are taxed with the effort of gathering the data for the paper which is good schooling for the writer.

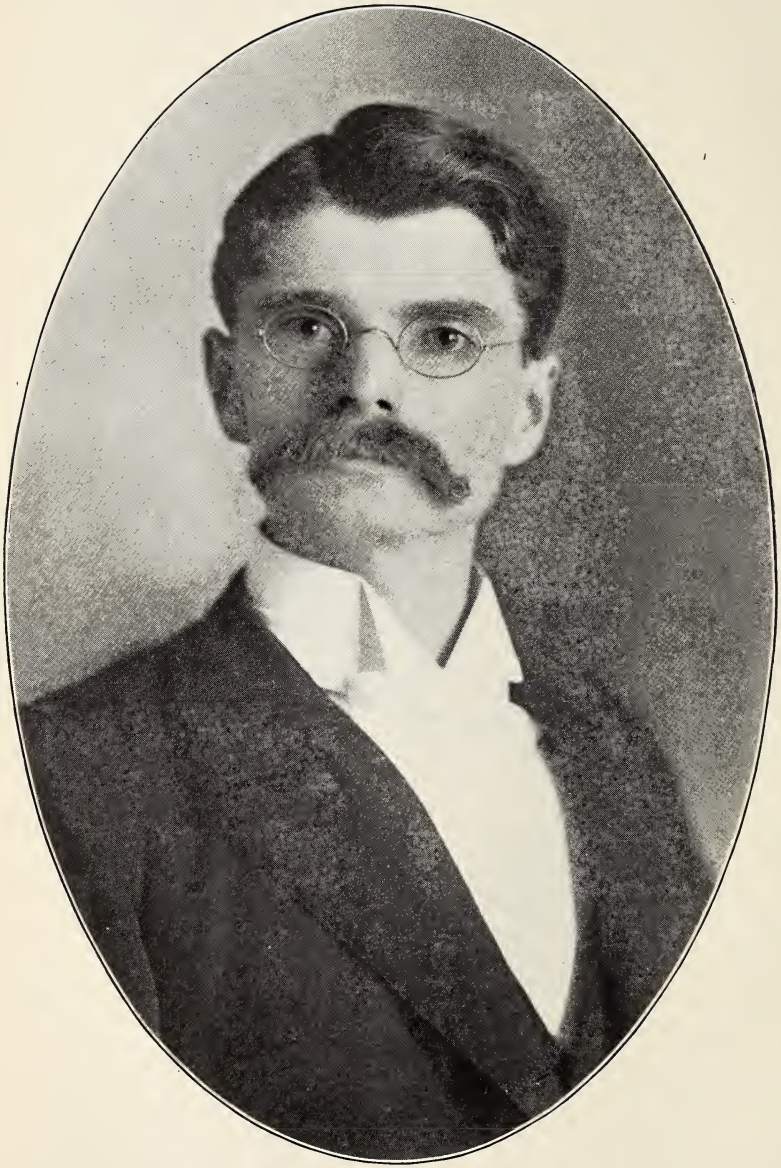
The most feasible plan adopted was to have meetings once each month, omitting perhaps the summer months; it is the business of the Executive Committee to arrange topics for discussion, then two, three or four members are selected to read papers on the topics assigned them, then five minute arguments follow by volunteer speakers.

We have been unable to make favorable terms with the weather man at all times, and when a club banquet is to be staged our caterers generally ask for a guaranty of a certain number to provide for at our banquet tables. The only way, or rather the best way out of this, is for the secretary to canvass the members, and those engaging plates must pay for them, whether they come or not. Each member is privileged to bring as many guests as his generosity will allow him to provide with banquet tickets. No distinction is made on account of politics, religious creeds, or nationality; the artisan, the mechanic, the professional and the working man all meet on a common level.

Hon. Julian R. Steward.

JUDGE C. S. WILLIAMS.

Yorkville, Ill.



CHAS. A. DARNELL.

Attorney, Plano, Ill.

Dr. Arthur E. Lord.

Discussions have taken a wide range and obsolete questions have to give current topics the right-of-way.

Our membership has broadened and our club is not environed by county or State lines.

The following list shows what lines have been followed in the club discussions:

"Indian History," by J. F. Steward, Chicago, Day Picnic at Meramech Hill, June, 1900; "Old Time Reminiscences," by Hon. P. A. Armstrong, Morris, Hon. Geo. M. Hollenback, Aurora, and J. F. Steward, Chicago.

"The Torrens Land Law," by Ivan L. Smith, Avery, N. Beebe, Judge Geo. W. Brown, September Meeting, 1900; "Methods of Congressional Legislation," by United States Senator Albert J. Hopkins, of Aurora.

"The Hay-Pauncefote and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaties," by Dr. I. E. Bennett, C. A. Darnell, E. W. Faxon, A. N. Beebe, J. R. Steward, H. P. Barnes, and J. R. Marshall.

"The Merchant Marine," by J. W. Hunt, Clarence S. Williams, E. L. Henning, J. R. Marshall, Geo. Mewhirter.

"Cuba," by Prof. George Elliott and Attorney R. O. Leitch.

"The Influence of the Christian Religion in China," by Rev. E. G. Rose, E. W. Faxon; "The Boxer Movement," by G. S. Steward; "Attitude of the Great Powers to China," A. N. Beebe, Rev. Henry H. Alger.

"The Legal Phase of Reed Smoot's Election to Congress," by Hon. A. J. Hopkins, and reply by F. M. Cooper, of the Latter Day Saints Church.

"The Panama Route," by A. N. Beebe; "The Nicaraugua Route," by C. A. Darnell; "The Darien Route," by J. R. Steward.

"Election of United States Senators by Direct Vote of the People," by Prof. Alfred Cook, Dr. I. E. Bennett.

"Compulsory and Arbitrary Education," by W. W. Owen and C. M. Steward; "Critical Periods of American History," by G. S. Steward, E. L. Henning, W. D. Steward, and Henry Stahlle.

"The Continental Congress," by E. W. Faxon; "The Isthmian Canal Route," by H. P. Barnes.

"Science of Ethics and Morality," Rev. Francis O. Wyatt; "The Convention of Hogs," (satire), by Prof. Alfred Cook; "Ole Jacobson as an April Fool," by G. E. McCracken; "Domestic Tragedy," (full of fun), by A. R. Brickenback.

"Development of Plano's Manufacturing Interest," by Hon. C. W. Marsh, of DeKalb; "Early Reminiscences," by Geo. M. Hollenback, Rev. J. B. McGriffin, Dr. G. H. Robertson, Lawrence Rank, Graham Hunt, and B. A. Darnell.

"Has the Attitude of England Toward the United States Since the Fall of Yorktown Been of a More Favorable Than Hostile Nature?" by Dr. I. E. Bennett, C. A. Darnell, affirmative; W. W. Owen and H. P. Barnes, negative.

"The Acquisition and Development of Alaska," by Prof. J. R. Freeborn; "Resources and Value to the United States," by O. G. Lawbaugh; "Seal Fisheries," by Dr. A. R. Taylor; "The Boundary Dispute," by E. L. Henning.

"Theosophical Theory of the Universe," by Prof. Walter S. Greenleaf, Chicago.

"The Unwritten Law," by C. A. Darnell, N. P. Barnard, B. F. Herrington, and F. M. Cooper.

"Governors of Illinois, Ninian Edwards," by Lillian K. Faxon; "Shadrack Bond," by Mrs. W. E. Kinnett; "Richard Yates, the War Governor," by A. N. Beebe.

"The Open Shop, for and Against; from the Capitalist and Labor Standpoint," by F. H. Earl, E. W. Faxon, and J. R. Steward.

"Development of Japan During Last Fifty Years," by Rev. Francis O. Wyatt; "Course of the Present Crisis in the East," by Dr. I. E. Bennett; "Russian Eastern Policy," by G. S. Steward.

"Should There Be Further Pacific Legislation Controlling Marriages," by B. F. Herrington, I. L. Smith, and Dr. Henry; "Psychology of the Mob," by Professor Jones.

"Seventieth Anniversary of Oswego," meeting in Oswego; "Olden Times," by J. F. Steward, Geo. M. Hollenback, J. R. Marshall, Mrs. M. Young, and Lawrence Rank.

"Does the Tariff Foster Trusts?" by H. P. Barnes, J. R. Freeborn, negative; J. E. Turpin and J. R. Steward, affirmative.

"Our Public Schools," by Prof. W. S. King and G. S. Steward.

"Good Roads," by J. R. Steward and Judge C. S. Williams.

"Mexico, Conquest," by Dr. I. E. Bennett; "Revolution," by W. W. Owen; "Modern Mexico," by G. S. Steward.

"Restriction of Immigration, Oriental Races," by C. A. Darnell; "Latin Races," by Professor Nichols; "Slavic Races," by Nelson Morley.

"Did Tom Paine Write the Declaration of Independence?" by C. A. Darnell; "Alexander Hamilton As a Statesman," by Geo. Mewhirter; "The Dred Scott Discussion," by Rev. H. E. Sweitzer.

"Influence of Clubs in American Life," by John M. Raymond; "Enlargement of the American Navy," by Avery N. Beebe; "Uniform Divorce Laws," by N. P. Barnard.

"Deep Waterways," by Hon. Lyman E. Cooley, Chicago.

"The Abolition of Slavery," by Ben M. Olson; "Manual Training, Its Place of Education," by J. R. Steward.

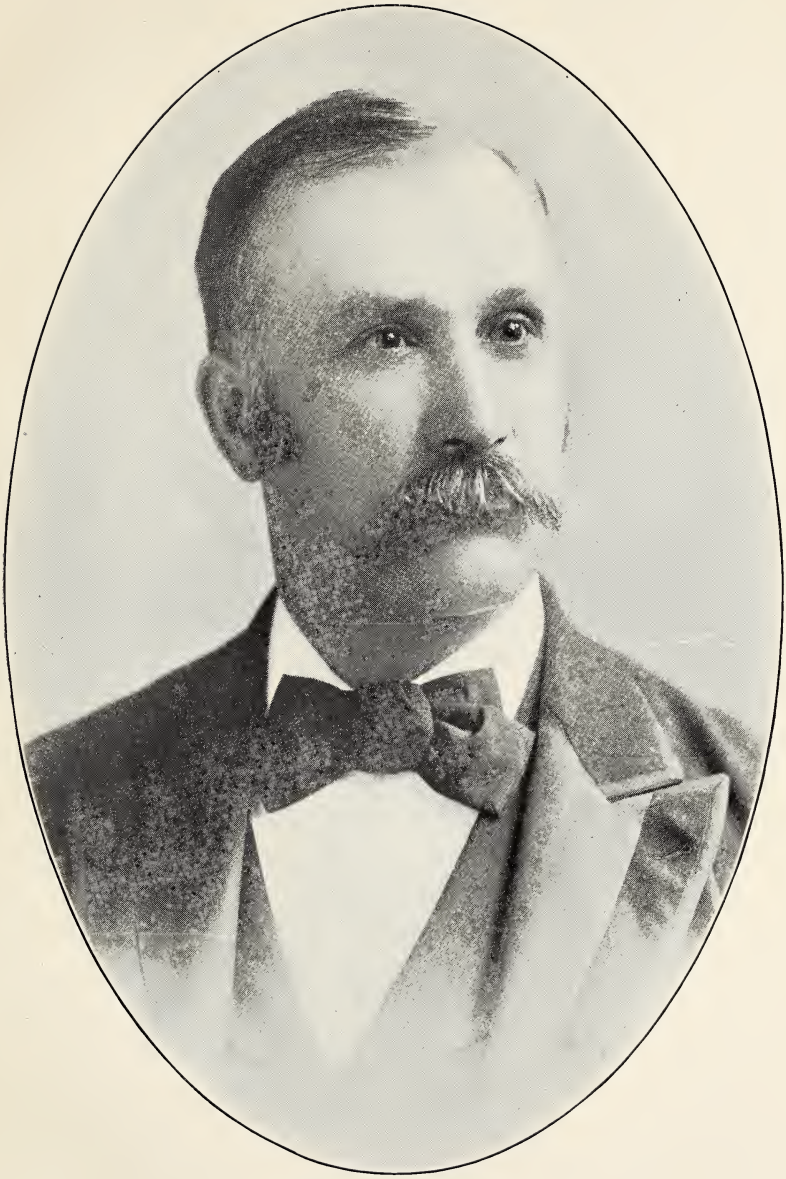
"The Annexation of Canada," by J. R. Adams, Lorin D. Henning, and Prof. W. S. King.

"Why Was the Capitol Located at Washington?" by Prof. W. S. Bixler; "The Usefulness of the Crow, Blackbird, and Other Birds," by J. R. Steward.

Lincoln Birthday Anniversary; meeting February 12, 1909. Addresses by Dr. R. H. Pooley, John Fitzgerald, B. F. Herrington, Judge Mazzini Slusser, John M. Raymond, N. J. Aldrich, John S. Sears, James S. Hatch. This was ladies night. There was a very large attendance and it proved to be one of the most enjoyable meetings ever held by this club.

"One Term for President," by H. P. Barnes, Capt. Arthur Peacay.

"Conservation of National Resources," by Nelson Morley; "Fertility of the Soil," by J. R. Steward; "Mining and Water Power," by J. B. Gilpatrick.



Dr. F. H. Lovel.

Plano, Ill.

IVAN. L. SMITH.

Secretary Meramach Society.

"Stocking Streams With Fish," by Asher D. Havenhill; "History of the Meramech Club," by Dr. I. E. Bennett.

"The Mound Builders," by B. F. Herrington; "The Guarantee of Security to the Woman in the Marriage Contract," by Dr. F. R. Frazier; "Laxity of Emigration Laws," by John Sears and Rev. C. D. McCammon.

"Regulation of Public Service Corporations," by Judge Mazzini Slusser, of Wheaton, Chas. Hoard, and N. P. Barnard.

"Some Hindrances and Some Aids to Education," by Father John Cusack.

"Commission Form of Government," by C. A. Darnell and G. S. Steward.

"Barbarous Mexico," Professor Locke, read a letter by Chas. Henning. "Railroad Builders in Mexico;" "A Winter in Mexico," by G. S. Steward.

"Lax Enforcement of Criminal Law," by J. R. Raymond, Oliver A. Burkhart; "Immigration Laws," by R. O. Leitch and C. D. McCammon.

"The American Farmer as a Producer and Manufacturer," by W. C. Thompson, president of the Independent Harvester Company, and others.

"Irrigation," by Lyman Sheaffer; "Minority Representation," by N .P. Barnard; "Recent and Present Troubles in Southern Europe," by Rev. C. Lemont Hay.

"The Robber Fee Bill," by C. S. Williams; "John Ruskin," by Rev. J. F. Miln.

"Resolved that the United States Should Charge Alike for All Panama Canal Tolls;" affirmative, John Fitzgerald; negative, John Sears.

"Resolved that Political Patronage is a Menace to Good Government;" affirmative, J. M. Raymond; negative, George Elliott.

"Resolved that Women Should Be Given the Right of Franchise;" affirmative, Mrs. J. B. Gilpatrick; negative, Rev. C. Lemont Hay, Miss Julia Norton, Prof. R. E. Locke.

"Live Stock Production from Producer to Consumer," by John D. Russell and Erick Nelson.

"The Cause and Cure of Strikes," by George Cormack and Ray McLarty.

May meeting, 1913, ladies night. Address by Rev. E. W. O'Neal, of Chicago, "Seers of Visions."

LIST OF OFFICERS.

The following is the official roster of the club since organization:

Presidents—Dr. I. E. Bennett, Julian R. Steward, C. Emmett Jeter, Dr. Frank H. Lord, Charles A. Darnell, Avery N. Beebe.

Vice-President—Harlan P. Barnes.

Treasurer—Edgar W. Faxon.

Secretaries and Treasurers—Prof. J. R. Freeborn, George S. Faxon, Ivan L. Smith.

Executive Committee—G. S. Steward, I. E. Bennett, Edgar L. Henning, W. W. Owen, C. Emmett Jeter, F. H. Lord, C. A. Darnell, Avery N. Beebe, Clarence S. Williams, Arthur E. Lord.

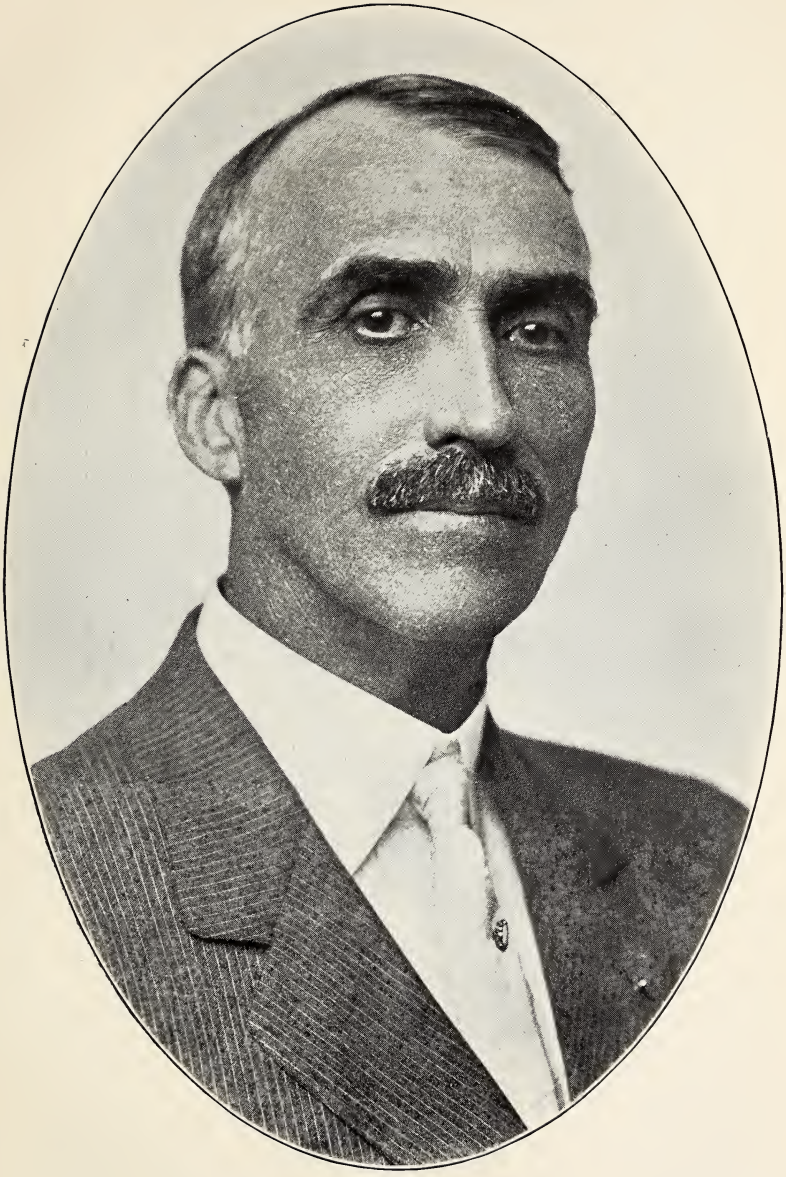
The Personel of the Honorary Members follow—Hon. John F. Steward, Chicago, Ill.; former U. S. Senator Albert J. Hopkins, Aurora, Ill.; Rev. F. J. Miln, M.E. Church, Plano, Ill.; Judge Mazzini Slusser, Wheaton, Ill.; Rev. H. E. Sweitzer, Pastor M.E. Church, Plano, Ill.; Rev. Kellner, Pastor Congregational Church, Plano, Ill.; Elder F. M. Cooper, Latter Day Saints Church, Plano, Ill.; Father Byrne, Catholic Priest, Plano, Ill.; Rev. Ernest Wray O'Neal, First M.E. Church, Chicago, Ill.

NECROLOGY.

With profound sorrow the writer announces the names of departed members who have passed to the other shore, viz:

Hon. Edgar W. Faxon, of Plano, Ill.; Prof. J. R. Freeborn, of Granville, Ill.; Mr. Graham C. Hunt, of Bristol, Ill.; Charles W. Beebe, of Yorkville, Ill.; Hon. Charles T. Cherry, of Oswego, Ill., and his estimable wife, Emma Clark Cherry, of Oswego, Ill.; Hon. Perry A. Armstrong, Morris, Ill., and his beloved wife, Malina Newell Armstrong; Rev. G. H. Robertson, Sandwich, Ill.; Judge George W. Brown, Wheaton, Ill.; William W. Owen, Plano, Ill.; Dr. Amasa E. Field, Plattville, Ill.; Lawrence Rank, Oswego, Ill.; Judge William Hill, Yorkville, Ill.; Mrs. George L. Needham, Yorkville, Ill.; Hon. Edgar L. Henning, Plano, Ill.; Charles N. Lawson, Plano, Ill.; William Whitfield, Plano, Ill.; William L. Means, Plano, Ill.

C. E. Jeter.



GEO. S. FAXON.

Ex-Secretary Meramach Society.

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF CENTER CHURCH, SEATON, ILL.

(By Rev. N. W. Thornton.)

An important historical service was held at Center Presbyterian Church, Seaton, Mercer County, Illinois, Sabbath morning, January 12, 1913. It celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the church. Popes River Church was the original church of the community, organized October 14, 1837. It was merged later in Center Church a few miles to the south, and afterwards moved to Seaton.

The whole of the week before had been devoted to social meetings wherein were presented the special lines of the various departments of church work. It had been a pleasant and profitable week leading up to a summary and memorial of the church itself. This church has had a long and honored history. Anyone who has been associated with it in any way may be proud of that fact.

The opening address of the occasion was made by the writer of this article, and with a few corrections was as follows:

Ps. 87:4, 5—"I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me: behold Phillistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia; this man was born there.

"And of Zion it shall be said, this and that man was born in her; and the highest himself shall establish her."

The early settlement of any land is important. The settlement of Mercer County, Illinois, is as important in a sense as the settlement of Plymouth.

We meet today in an important historical gathering—to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of organized Presbyterianism in this part of the State of Illinois. If any church anywhere might appreciate such an historical event then this church should. Presbyterian church history in Illinois came in from Kentucky and moved northward. In 1820 a church was organized at Jacksonville, at Rushville a few years later, at Monmouth in September, 1837, and at Popes River, October 14, 1837. Later in the year churches were organized at Edgington and lower Rock Island. But Popes River was organized before any church either to the north or west.

October 14, 1837, Popes River Church was the farthest point organized Presbyterianism had reached in the United States. We hardly realize that at that time Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin were territories. Michigan became a state in 1838, Iowa in 1846 and Wisconsin in 1848. The Blackhawk War was fought in 1832. Friendly and straggling Indians were still in the country. It was the day of log cabins and

rail fences. The improvements were first made along the streams and timber. It was thought then the open prairies never would be settled.

The charter members of Popes River Church were thirteen. There were received by letter Thomas Candor and Margaret, his wife, John Black and Nancy, his wife, Ephraim Gilmore, John Long and Martha Long, William I. Nevius and Mary Ann, his wife; by profession of faith, Mrs. Julian Gilmore and Miss Nancy Nevius. The preaching services of the church were held around the neighborhood, but generally at Mr. Candor's until 1849 when the church building was finished in section 7 of Ohio Grove Township. The last records in the old minute book of Popes River Church were March 12 and 13, 1869, the very days that the Center Church was being organized in the southeast corner of Abington Township. The last members of Popes River Church were then and there transferred to become the charter members of Center Church. And of the thirty-five that constituted the church, sixteen were from Popes River. It was the same stream flowing on under a new name.

The period of time from October 14, 1837, to March 12, 1869, is 31 years, 4 months, and 28 days, and from the later date to the present is 43 years, 10 months, making the age of the church to date 75 years, 2 months and 28 days of consecutive history associated with this continuous organized work in three places—two adjacent to and one in Seaton. During the period embraced by the Popes River Church there were received by letter one hundred and fifteen and by profession of faith eighty-eight—two hundred three in all.

The first elders were Thomas Candor and Ephriam Gilmore. Mr. E. Gilmore was clerk of the Session for seventeen years, until the Millersburg church was organized. The names of those dismissed April 16, 1854, to form the Millersburg church were as follows: E. Gilmore (an elder), Julian Gilmore, Jno. M. Gilmore, Margaret S. Gilmore, Ann Janet Taylor, Henry Lee, Martha Lee, Mary Marsh, Edward Brady, Mary Sherer, John Brady, Eliza Brady, Catherine Gilmore, Tabitha M. Bay, John T. McGinnis, Betsy King, Mary E. Murphy, Sarah E. Lloyd, Sarah Clark, Elizabeth Ann Edgar, Elizabeth Davis, Mary M. Steele, John Kiddoo, Eliza Kiddoo, Graham Lee, Mary H. Lee, David Morrow, Elizabeth Morrow, Julia Riggs, Margaret A. McGinnis, Joseph G. Gilmore, Aletta Ann Gilmore, Samuel Guffy, Mary Guffy, H. W. Thornton, E. F. Thornton, Rachel T. Willits, Hannah J. Reed.

These thirty-eight persons, many of them who had united on profession of faith, going out at one time must have caused the workers remaining to feel the burdens would be much heavier to carry.

November 8, 1856, certain members were released to help organize the church at Aledo; W. W. McCandless (an elder), James Officer, Mary Jane Officer, Jacob Vanbuskirk, Mary Ann Vanbuskirk, Martha Detwiler, David Brown, John McKee, Sarah Ann McCandless. March 8, 1858, some more members were released to Aledo: Thomas Candor (an elder), Mary Candor, Arabelle Thompson, M. P. Marsh, Eliza Marsh, Phœbe Gregory. Here were fifteen, all told, released to Aledo.

May 2, 1857, a group of fourteen members were released to help form the church of Keithsburg: I. N. Anderson, Anna Anderson, Mary Frazier, Eliza Neely, H. L. Senter, Nancy W. Frick, Catharine

Cabeen, Anna M. Fleming, Paul Sheriff, Mary Sheriff, Sarah Mount, Margaret Brisbane, Austin Hale, Mary E. Hale.

The whole membership released to help form these three churches was sixty-seven.

The last record in the book is March 12, 1869, when fifteen members were released to enter the new organization known as Center Church, viz: Samuel Crisswell, Sarah Crisswell, Lewis Wright, Rebecca Wright, Samuel Pollock, Marg. A. Pollock, Matthew Taylor, Mary E. Hale, Mary Holmes, Catharine J. Cabeen, Margaret Cameron, Sarah Cameron, Mary A. Cabeen, Jane G. Cabeen, Elizabeth P. Cabeen.

This exhausted the Popes River Church and its life and sphere of work then was merged into the Center Church, now the prosperous church of Seaton.

The list of ministers is as follows: John Montgomery, Ithamer Pillsbury, Thomas S. Vail, L. B. Crittenden, S. B. Smith, William Townsley, E. K. Lynn, I. H. Nevius, L. G. Bell.

The list of elders: Thomas Candor, Ephraim Gilmore, John W. Nevius, David R. Harris, James Kiddoo, William W. McCandless, James McPherrin, Austin Hale, Samuel Pollock.

These pioneers, through their wisdom and fidelity, organized the new settlers of Mercer County into this parent church, and then when geographical points began to be centers, set them off to become centers themselves.

The one thing that will impress anyone in reading over the minutes of Popes River Church is the remarkable number received on profession of faith and the remarkable history of many of these.

Thomas Candor and Robert, his brother, made the trip from Pennsylvania to Mercer County horseback in 1836. Thomas Candor entered two quarters in Ohio Grove Township—northwest quarter of section 6 and southwest quarter of section 7. Then selling their horses they returned to Pennsylvania by river. After selling his tannery, Mr. Candor made ready to move west. With his wife and family of five children he journeyed westward overland in the fall of 1837, reaching Mercer County sometime before the organization of Popes River Church. His wife's maiden name was Margaret Montgomery. She was one of nine brothers and sisters, the children of John Montgomery, Sr., of Danville, Pa. Her brother, Daniel, settled near Edgington about 1836, and became an elder of that church when it was organized in November, 1837. Her brother, John, was a minister who had been laboring at Paris, Ill., in the Presbytery of Palestine in 1835. He was the first Presbyterian minister to locate in Mercer County and settled at Farlow's Grove in 1837. He preached statedly for the Farlow's Grove Church and Popes River Church until his death, October 6, 1843. Mrs. Hopkins Boone, of Farlow's Grove, was also a sister. The Boones came to Illinois in 1835 and stopped at Paris where Rev. John Montgomery was preaching, and Mrs. Boone said to her brother, "Why don't you come and preach for us." He replied, "I would as soon preach for you as anybody." And so in 1837 we find the families of brother and sister side by side at Farlow's Grove. Another sister of Mrs. Candor was Mrs. William Sheriff. Both Mr. and Mrs. William Sheriff were charter mem-

bers of the Popes River Church. So of the Montgomery family two brothers and three sisters settled near together and took active part in founding religious privileges in Mercer County.

The death of Mrs. Candor September 30, 1841, was a great blow to the loving fellowship of these early settlers. Her grave beside the church became the dedication of the old cemetery. In 1843 the family of Rev. John Montgomery was stricken with five deaths. First, Mrs. Montgomery died in the spring of 1843. In the summer the twins died which she had left. A little later the niece, who had come to nurse the sick in this home, died. And in October, Rev. John Montgomery died. In the minutes of the Popes River Church is this record: "Departed this life on the 6th day of October, A.D. 1843, at his residence in Farlow's Grove, Mercer County, Illinois, the Rev. John Montgomery, stated supply for this congregation."

The Montgomery family of two brothers and three sisters afforded four ruling elders and one minister.

One interesting feature of the Popes River Church is the number which united on profession of faith. Another feature is the number of persons out of the Montgomery family and of the church that entered into organized church work. Daniel Montgomery became an elder of the Edgington Church and his three sons, Robert, Daniel and John, also became elders. Hopkins Boone became an elder of the Farlow's Grove Church and the daughter's husband, John Geddes, also became an elder. Of Thos. Candor's family, Mr. Candor was an elder for many years, his first son, John, studied for the ministry, graduating from Princeton College, and while taking the course at Princeton Theological Seminary died in his senior year at the age of twenty-four and was buried at Danville, Pa. The daughter, Mary, became the wife of Graham Lee, prominent in the eldership and prominent in positions of trust in the state at large. The sons, Daniel M. and Robert, both became elders of churches in the county. Of the third generation, Elisha, son of Graham and Mary Candor Lee, is a present elder of the Hamlet Church. Of Robert's family, Robert, himself, was an elder; the son, John, was an elder; Thomas is a preacher and missionary in the United States of Columbia. He is considered one of the gifted and successful South American missionaries. The third son, Ward L., is one of the present elders of Center Church, as his father was of the old Center Church before its removal to Seaton, and as his grandfather was of the antecedent church of Popes River. Surely the mark that this family has made on the church history of Mercer County is not to be passed idly by.

Aside from the Popes River Church being a hive from which went colonies to form the charter members of Millersburg, Keithsburg, Aledo and Center churches, these members dismissed became elders or the parents or elders and ministers still in church work. Aside from elders and ministers already named, Ephraim Gilmore acted as an elder for many years after leaving Popes River Church, and his son, John, was an elder at Garnet, Kan. John M. Gilmore and wife, received on profession of faith at Popes River Church, were of the charter members of Millersburg Church and Mr. Gilmore for many years was an elder. The

two sons, George and Taylor, enlisted in the Civil War. The son, George, was in the midst of his preparation for the gospel ministry but gave his life for his country and his body sleeps 'neath southern sod. The son, J. Taylor, returned home at the close of the war and upon the death of his father became an elder of the Millersburg Church.

Henry Lee and wife, dismissed to the Millersburg Church, brought up a large family of church workers. Henry Lee, himself, was an elder for many years and upon his death his son, Scoville Lee, succeeded and is an elder today. The daughter, Ruth, married Mr. Ed Partridge, who for several years before his removal to Whittier, California, was an elder of the Millersburg Church, and is an elder today in California.

Edward Brady and John T. McGinnis, dismissed to the Millersburg Church, later became elders of the Peniel Church, and Charles McGinnis, a son, is at present pastor of Whitehall Presbyterian Church, near Albany, N. Y.

Of my father's relation to the Popes River Church, I wish to speak. My mother, Elizabeth Frick Norbury, was baptized in the Dutch Reformed Church in Philadelphia. As a girl of sixteen she united on profession of faith with the Danville, Pa., Presbyterian Church, the same church out of which the Montgomerys and Candors came. Upon her marriage in 1839 and removal to Mercer County, she handed in her church letter to the Popes River Church in June. My father, H. W. Thornton, united on profession of faith February 26, 1845. They were dismissed with the group of thirty-eight to form the charter members of the Millersburg Church April 16, 1854. The oldest daughter, Martha, became the wife of Rev. J. S. Lutz, who was pastor of the Center Church when it was organized. They are now living in Rock Island County where for thirty-six years they have worked in the neighborhood Presbyterian church. The son, Norbury W. Thornton, became a minister, and the son, George ,is at present an elder of the Millersburg Church. One of the members dismissed to Millersburg among the charter members was Rachel Thornton, sister of H. W. Thornton. She united with the Popes River Church on profession of faith. She became the wife of Chas. Willits and later removed to Mt. Pleasant, Ia. There a large family grew up in the M. E. church. Mr. Willits' second wife was Miss Ellen Crosier, a devout member of the Methodist church, by whom there were two sons, John and Wilmot. Thornton Willits, a son, is a wealthy land owner and a prominent director of Iowa Wesleyan University, Mt. Pleasant, Ia. Another son, Rev. John Willits, D.D., of Battle Creek, Mich., is pastor of a large M. E. church.

Another person I want to name of the charter members of Popes River Church was Martha Long. She became the wife of Erastus Dennison and resided in Millersburg in the '30's. Upon her marriage to Samuel Sheriff she took her letter to the M. E. Church of New Boston. Thence they removed to Geneseo and both lived until a few years ago, widely known, highly esteemed and much beloved—saints they were in the kingdom of God, members through a long life of the Methodist Episcopal church.

One of the members received on profession of faith of Popes River was Dr. J. A. Maury. He and his wife were dismissed to Oquawka in

1848 and later to the Aledo church. The daughter, Anna, now Mrs. Wm. Bunting, of David City, Neb., is one of the noted women of Nebraska in church, temperance and federated club work.

Of the members dismissed from Popes River Church to organize the Aledo church November 8, 1856, the name of Mrs. Martha Detwiler appears. The sons of Mrs. Detwiler are Rev. Geo. Detwiler, pastor of the First M.E. Church of Nashville, Tenn., Chas. W. Detwiler, an elder of the Presbyterian Church, Aledo, today, and Lewis C. Detwiler, the useful Sunday school superintendent of the same church. These last named brothers are prominent in the lay work of the county, and prominent in educational and business interests of Aledo.

I have hesitated somewhat in the matter of starting on the individual names, lest not being acquainted with the families of many, I might leave out some as important as others I have named.

Of those dismissed to the Keithsburg Church in 1857, the Sheriffs and Fricks were prominent and their children and grandchildren are now active church workers in Monmouth, Seaton and Keithsburg. Of those dismissed from Popes River Church to Center when it was organized was the elder, Samuel Pollock, who was an elder of Center Church for over twenty-six years, and his son, J. K. Pollock, is at present one of the elders.

All the list of prominent church and business men and women who are the descendants of the original organized church of Popes River owe in a great measure their sanctified parentage to the hallowed influences of the Candor Church. Their ancestry were a converted group. As they became members and officers of other Mercer County churches, they carried with them the principles and beliefs of genuine Christianity. It is not prejudice that causes me to rate so highly the place that the Popes River Church occupies in the history of Christianity in Mercer County—in this part of the world. And the saying goes that no history of anything can be written until after one hundred years.

Think for a moment what would have been the consequences had Popes River Church never been. And there are plenty of counties in Illinois where early settlers were not brave and consecrated to do as the Mercer County pioneers did. It may have been partly due to the fact that an influential leader rose up to whom the settlers looked and responded. So the tribute which may be pronounced is that Mr. Thomas Candor and his home were the center of this whole work. To say this is not saying less than the truth. I have said it before and I repeat it today that if there were one individual in Mercer County to whose memory a marble shaft was to be erected as a monument to the chief pioneer in the planting of the Christian church in these parts, the name of the individual is Thomas Candor, and as well the name of Mrs. Margaret Montgomery Candor, his beloved wife. Their spiritual children and grandchildren are scattered all over these Illinois communities, and they are still true to their example. And they are workers today as he was in his day. And these workers today are making their impress on this generation which must bear fruit in another generation. Such characters, following quietly and faithfully after our great Redeemer, are building better than they know. No other life can be more important, and no other work shall be more abiding.

Mr. F. M. Roth, Clerk of the Session, spoke from notes regarding the history of the church from the reorganization as the Center Church to the present time. Center Church was organized Friday, March 12, 1869, and the building was at first located in the southeast corner of Abington Township. The Presbyterial Committee for Organization were: Rev. H. Hanson, Rev. J. M. Jamieson, D.D., Rev. J. H. Moore, and Elders R. W. Porter and Samuel Pollock.

The following constituted the charter members: From Popes River—Samuel Pollock and Mrs. Mary Pollock, Samuel Crisswell and Mrs. Sarah Crisswell, Matthew Taylor, Lewis Wright, Mrs. Rebecca Wright, Mrs. Mary Hale, Mrs. Mary Holmes, Mrs. Catharine E. Cabeen, Mrs. Margaret Cameron. From Presbyterian Church of North Henderson—H. A. Henry, Mrs. Catharine Henry, Mrs. Eliza Lawrenson, Jas. Kellogg, Mrs. Martha Kellogg, Mrs. Jane Pepper, Mrs. Elizabeth Lafferty. From the Presbyterian Church of Aledo—Robert Candor, Mrs. Rebecca Candor, John Candor, Miss Mattie E. Jamieson. Received on profession of faith—Jno. Bentz, Mrs. Jemima Bentz, John R. J. Howe, twenty-five members in all.

On the following Sabbath the following members were received: From Popes River—Mrs. Elizabeth P. Cabeen, Mrs. Jane Cabeen, Mrs. Sarah Cabeen, Mrs. Sarah Cameron, Austin Hale, an elder. Received on profession of faith—James A. Kellogg, Miss Mary M. Kellogg, Walter H. Howe, Miss Mary Holmes, Wm. Penn Criswell, making thirty-five in all.

The whole list of the ministers of the Center Church is as follows:

Rev. J. S. Lutz, 7 years, 6 months.
Rev. J. P. Roth, 7 years 10 months.
Rev. J. H. Aughey, 1 year, 2 months.
Rev. H. P. Detherage, 8 years, 4 months.
Rev. C. M. Robb, 11 years, 2½ months.
Rev. Philip Palmer, 4 years, 6 months.
Rev. M. G. Hanna, present pastor.

The list of elders is as follows:

Robt. Candor, 15 years.
Samuel Pollock, 26½ years.
John Bentz, 5 years.
Glasgow Parshall, 23 years.
Jas. Logan, 23 years.
W. J. McIntyre, 21½ years.
Jno. M. Candor, 14½ years.
Dr. Thomas Elder, 6 years.
J. K. Pollock, 16½ years.
W. L. Candor, 16½ years.
F. M. Roth, 16½ years.
J. E. Orth, 7 years.
Dr. W. A. Roth, 7 years.

The last five are the present elders of the church.

A new church building was erected in the village of Seaton in the summer and fall of 1893, and was dedicated January 21, 1894, Rev. W. S. Davis, of Aledo, Ill., officiating. In the summer of 1901 the

building was remodeled and enlarged and dedicated November 24, 1901, Rev. W. S. Davis again officiating.

Of the charter members two are still members of this church and both reside in Seaton, Ill., Mrs. Elizabeth Lafferty and Mrs. John Henry (Miss Mattie Jamieson).

Of the first accession to the church on March 14, 1869, there are four alive, namely: Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Penn Crisswell, Jas. A. Kellogg and Mrs. Mary M. Moore. The session of the church has never been without one or more Candors, and in the case of the Pollocks, lacking only a few months. The congregation always had Candors, Pollocks, Crisswells, Cabeens, Henrys, Peppers and Laffertys on its rolls.

Rev. M. G. Hanna undoubtedly has before him a happy and successful pastorate.

THE TRAGEDY OF STARVED ROCK.

William Anwyl Jones, Kansas City, Mo.

The decline and fall of a brave and industrious people is always a cause of regretful interest. The complete wiping out of such a nation by one act of a more powerful and revengeful people is worthy of more than a passing paragraph in a school history; it deserves to be embalmed in a manner at once unusual and attractive, and with a permissible touch of sentiment and even of mystery.

The pathetic yet stirring story of the utter annihilation of the once important tribe of Indians from whom the great State of Illinois took its name is here given, with so much of historical accuracy, probably, as is possible, although I believe the reader will be lenient with the liberty taken in investing the sole survivor of his tribe with a fanciful taking off. There have been other versions of the historic facts, but from the studies I have made at various times I conclude that the account furnished by Mr. N. Matson, late of Princeton, Ill., who was a careful and painstaking local historian of the early days in Illinois, is as nearly accurate as any later efforts, and to his books I acknowledge my debt for the salient facts.

I offer no apology for the employment of the meter of the Song of Hiawatha, for it appears to me peculiarly appropriate—and it was borrowed from other primitive singers across the northern seas.

THE LAST OF THE ILLINI.

A LEGEND OF STARVED ROCK.

(By William Anwyl Jones.)

It was spring-time on the prairies.
From the mystic southern flower-land,
From the land of birds and flowers,
From the land the sun e'er smiles on,
Looks straight down and never sidewise—
Came the South-wind armed with arrows,
Golden-pointed, deadly arrows;
And he fought the bitter Ice-fiend,
Slew his hosts with glittering helmets,
Till in drifts their bodies lay there;
And the earth and air, like vultures
Always thirsty, ever greedy,

Opened wide their mouths capacious
And they vanished out of being.
Then the Ice-fiend spread his pinions,
With a shriek that made men shudder
And their coats draw close about them,
And away he sped to northward,
To his glittering, icy stronghold.
There are blazing still his camp-fires,
And he sometimes, as a menace
To his foes, heaps on the fuel
Till the angry flames up-darting
Startle all the country southward
With their blazing and their crackling—
Wise men call it the Aurora.
When at last the battle ended,
Gently, lovingly the South-wind
Breathed upon the blackened prairies,
Where the Ice-fiend trampled on them;
Warmed to life the grass and flowers,
Called the birds to come and greet them
With their cheering songs of welcome,
And all nature beamed with gladness.

It was spring-time on the prairies.
Slow the smoke rose from the chimneys,
Curling o'er the settlers' cabins
Dotting here and there the prairies.
Out into the fields the men went,
Plowed the ground and made it mellow,
Reckoned up their crops beforehand,
Planned for wealth and ease when aged.

But among them dwelt an old man—
Dwelt among, yet was not of them.
Bowed and weak his manly form was;
Swarthy was his skin; his clothing
Was a blanket wrapped about him.
Nothing with the world in common
Had he; but he dwelt among them,
Relic of the days departed.
He in mystery was shrouded;
No one knew how long he'd lived there;
Naught he said about his people;
But he sat and brooded, sighing
O'er the days so long departed.
And the settlers' children playing
On the grass anear the cabin,
Silently would look upon him,
Stand with mouths agape with wonder—
Stop their play to look and question

With each other what his thoughts were,
Why he never told his sorrow.

It was evening on the prairie.
Hushed and still the South-wind's breathing,
And the dying Sun, the artist,
Seized his pencils and was painting
Night's soft curtains red and purple,
Filling all the world with splendor.
Came the settlers to their dwelling,
Fed their horses in the stable,
Bathed their grimy hands and faces,
And with appetites keen-sharpened,
Quick responded to the summons
Of the house-wife in the cabin,
Where the frugal meal was waiting.

But the old man sat there silent;
In his hands his face was buried;
All his thoughts were in the old time.
Reverently the children called him,
But he heeded not their voices
Till they closer came and touched him.
Then he roused himself, and struggling
To his feet, he beckoned to them,
Led the way down to the river,
While the wond'ring children followed.
Then upon the bank reclining,
Looking out across the river
As the evening shades descended,
Thus he called the children round him,
Told them of his life mysterious:

"Come around me now, my children;
Gather round me in the twilight,
In the darkness of the evening,
As the Spirits of the evening
Wrap the world in robes of shadows—
Ere the Spirits of the Soul-land
Wrap in sable robes the old man,
Make him unseen with their garments,
Bear him on their noiseless pinions
To the happy hunting places,
To the Islands of the Blessed;
Where no more he'll suffer hunger,
Suffer from the cruel winter,
Suffer from the greedy white man.
For the old man's days are numbered,
And the remnant of his people

All have vanished from his presence,
All have reached the Blessed Islands;
He alone is left to mourn them,
And the old man's heart is lonely
And he longs to go and join them.
Soon the Manitou will bid him
Lay aside his warlike weapons
And his calumet, his peace-pipe,
Follow Hiawatha's footsteps
To the Islands of the Blessed.
But before I go, my children,
I must tell to you a secret,
Tell the story of my people;
How they fought for wife and children,
How they fell for home and fire-side;
How they perished from the nations,
From among the prairie-people;
How no more their fires are gleaming
By the margin of the river;
How no more they track the wild deer
Through the wood and o'er the prairie;
How no more they plant the corn-field,
Hunt the muskrat and the beaver,
Gather round the sparkling camp-fire
And relate their deeds of valor,
While their women and their children
Clap their hands and loudly cheer them—
They are gone from earth forever,
And the old man longs to join them!

"Many years ago, my children,
On the swelling, rolling prairie
Stretching onward, north and southward
From the margin of the river—
Of the broad, majestic river,
Where the sturgeon leaped and gamboled,
Where the bark canoes went sailing,
Floating, drifting with the current,
Graceful as the swans that floated
On the river's placid bosom
When the wind was lulled to silence,
And the song-birds in the forest,
Thrush and cat-bird, black-bird, robin,
Caroled to their mates a love-song,
Filled the air with sweetest music;
On this swelling, rolling prairie,
Covered o'er with waving grasses,
Decked with gorgeous-painted wild flowers
Lading all the air with fragance
From their honey-bearing petals;
On this prairie, with its cornfields

With their regal plumage swaying
In the gentle prairie zephyrs,
Girt by forests grand and gloomy,
Where the wild deer loved to wander,
Where the wild-cat and the panther
Screamed in triumph o'er their victim,
While the nimble squirrel, leaping
In the branches high above them,
Laughed and chattered at their fury;—
Where at night, in words of wisdom,
Spoke the owl, the feathered prophet,
Spoke so none could understand him,
Though the people always feared him
For his words so strange and solemn
And his eyes so large and ghostly;—
Where the wind at dawn and evening
Sighed and whispered through the branches,
Telling aye its plaintive story
To its lover in the tree-tops,
Till the trees, in deepest pity,
Moaned and tossed their leafy branches;—
On this swelling, rolling prairie
By the margin of the river,
Dwelt a Nation, strong and manly,
Peaceful, diligent and happy;
Skillful in their hunting parties,
As they trailed the bounding wild deer,
As the buffalo they followed,
Dashing o'er the trackless prairie;
As they trapped the cunning beaver
In his wondrous, snug-built wigwam,
And the musk-rat, little beaver;
Trapped the mink, raccoon and otter;
While their women in the cornfields
Plied their peaceful avocation,
Dressed the game their husbands brought them,
Round the camp-fire brightly blazing;
While the happy children, sporting,
Gathered wild-flowers on the prairie,
Shot with little bows and arrows
At the squirrels in the forest,
Learning to be mighty hunters.
Thus they lived, a happy nation;
Peaceful were they with their neighbors,
Smoked the Calumet, the peace-pipe,
Prayed to Manitou for guidance—
The Great Spirit in the heavens—
For prosperity in hunting,
For the increase of their cornfields.

"But across the rolling prairie,
To the margin of the river,
From the country of the Wabash,
Stranger red-men, bent on hunting,
Came in bands all armed and mounted,
Gay with feathers, red with war-paint—
Hunted where they had no title;
Killed our buffalo and wild deer;
Burned our cornfields and our wigwams;
Laughed to scorn our mighty warriors;
Swore to utterly destroy us
If we hindered them from hunting
On our ancient hunting places,
Where our fathers roamed before us.
Still, in spite of all their threat'ning,
Of their insolence and boasting,
Offered we the sacred peace-pipe—
Offered, but they would not smoke it,
Scornfully the pipe rejected,
Hurled it to the ground in anger!
Pontiac, their mighty chieftain,
Hero of a hundred battles,
Bold of speech and great of stature,
Sneeringly proclaimed us cowards
Said that he would give no quarter,
Ne'er would cease his warfare 'gainst us
Till the Illini had perished
From among the prairie people,
Vanished from among the nations!
Quickly, ere he finished speaking,
Sprang in rage our chief upon him,
Raised his tomahawk above him,
Plunged it in his treacherous bosom,
Till the life-blood spurted o'er him
Like a gushing, bubbling fountain;
And their mighty, boasting chieftain,
Hero of a hundred battles,
Sank, a quivering corpse, before him!
Loud the war-cry then resounded;
Broke the council up in fury;
Round their chiefs the warriors rallied,
Armed with tomahawk and rifle;
In their belts their knives were gleaming—
All their faces red with war-paint,
And their heads all gay with feathers.
Met they then in awful combat;
Rang the air with sound of rifle,
Whistled through the air the arrows,
Dealing death to valiant warriors.

Thus the battle long continued,
Till at last our braves, outnumbered,
Fleeing from the field of carnage,
Sought their homes beside the river.
There they rested; there they labored;
Thought the strife was surely over.
Spring increased and grew to summer—
Slept the vale in peaceful beauty.
Summer grew and aged to autumn;—
In the valley rich with cornfields,
Covered o'er with waving grasses,
By the margin of the river
Where the bark canoes went sailing,
Still secure were all the people;
Enemies no more oppressed them.

THE NIGHT ATTACK.

"Gathered at the town LaVantum,
All the warriors had assembled,
All the young men and the maidens,
All the women and the children—
Met to celebrate the wedding
Of our chieftain's lovely daughter,
Pride and flower of all the nation:
Celebrated it with feasting,
Celebrated it with dancing;
Mirth and gladness reigned unstinted.
Hark! what stops so quick the dancing?
See! a messenger, all breathless
With his running, hastens toward them!
'UP AND ARM! OUR FOES ARE MARCHING,
COMING RAPIDLY UPON US!
WILL ATTACK US ERE THE MORNING!
UP AND ARM!'
"Thus spoke the runner.
Ceased the music and the dancing,
Vanished all the mirth and gladness.
Then, with wild and thrilling war-cry,
Quickly built the braves defences
And prepared to give them battle;
While the women and the children
Wrung their hands in direst terror.
In canoes the warriors placed them,
Sent them sailing down the river
To a marshy, reedy island,
Where they thought they would be hidden
From their foes so fierce and cruel.
Onward rushed the foes like demons.
Skull and cross-bones of their chieftain,
Pontiac, their mighty warrior,

Whom brave Kineboo our leader
Killed, they carried high above them;
Swore that they would give no quarter,
But pursue the warfare 'gainst us,
Utterly destroy our nation,
Leaving none to tell the story!
Through the night fierce raged the battle;
Daylight brought, alas, no respite!
Through the long bright day we fought them.
Men like autumn leaves were falling,
Far and near the vale resounded
With the war-cry and death-song,
Till the night came down upon us,
With her sable robes of darkness,
Bringing with her furious tempest—
Such a storm as stopped the fighting,
Drove the foe to seek for shelter.

STARVED ROCK.

"Quickly called we then a council:
Many of our braves were missing,
Hundreds laying where they'd fallen
By the foe's unerring rifle,
By his poisoned, fatal arrows.
Quick we came to the decision
To desert our town La Vantum.
In the darkness and the tempest
Crossed we the majestic river
Which the storm had lashed to fury;
In our bark canoes went sailing—
Hurrying, flying o'er the river:
Pressed we onward to LeRocher,
To our fortress strong and lofty,
Rising up from out the river
Like a gloomy, giant castle;
(So the Jesuits described it
When they visited La Vantum);
Up the steep and narrow stairway
To the summit of LeRocher,
To the site of Fort St. Louis,
Where La Salle had placed his treasure,
Garrisoned his rocky stronghold,
In the days long since departed.
Here we waited till the morning,
When the enemy, advancing
On the town, now found it empty,
Found their victims had escaped them.
Then they burned the luckless village,
Plied the torch with fiendish triumph;
Tomahawked our dying warriors,

Left them there to feed the buzzards.
Quickly forded they the river,
And our stronghold fierce assaulted;
But invincible the rock stood.
Then they climbed the narrow stairway,
Thinking soon to overcome us;
But our tomahawks received them
And their life-blood poured in torrents
Down the path now red and slippery.
Long the bloody siege continued;
All our store of food had vanished;
Thirst and hunger gnawed our vitals
Like a famished wolf imprisoned
In the dungeon of our bodies.
Then we made ropes of our garments
And let buckets down for water;
But the crafty foe below us
In canoes, would cut the ropes off;
So we'd neither food nor water.
One by one our starving warriors
Laid them down beneath the cedars,
Sang their death-song and resigned them
To the Manitou above them,
The Great Spirit in the heavens.
Thus they perished. All who stayed there
Died a death prolonged and cruel;
And their bones for years lay bleaching
On the summit of LeRocher—
'STARVED ROCK' white men since have called it.
Afterward the bloody victors
Down the river sent their forces,
Till they found the reedy island,
Found the women and the children.
Then the wolfish, fiendish cowards
Murdered all the helpless women,
Murdered all the little children;
Left their bodies there unburied,
Food for birds of prey and wild beasts.

THE PRISONER'S ESCAPE.

"Of my people on LeRocher
I alone escaped destruction.
When the tomahawk had fallen
From the hand of my last comrade,
Under cover of the darkness
Tore I into strips my clothing,
Making a long rope of buckskin,
Let myself down to the river
Down the rock so steep and lofty,
Reached the stream below in safety,

Floated downward with the current
And escaped the fiendish clutches
Of the hated foe so cruel.
Then I traveled faint and weary,
Many days along the river,
Till I found among the white men
Friends, with whom I formed acquaintance
And have lived, from that time onward.
Now, the old man's days are numbered;
Frosted o'er by many winters
Are his locks, once black as crow's wing;
And his form, once bold and upright,
Now is bent; his step is feeble;
And his eye, once like the eagle's,
Is so dim he scarcely sees you;
And his ear, once quick at hearing
As the deer's in lightest slumber,
Now is dull, and grows yet duller.
All his early friends and kindred
Long have passed away before him;
And the old man's heart is lonely
And he longs to go and join them!"

THE PASSING OF THE ILLINI.

Ceased the old man from his speaking;
And the children, awed and silent,
As the darkness fell around them,
Closer crept and gazed upon him
As he sat there looking forward,
Out across the placid river.
All forgotten was the present;
All his thoughts were in the old time;
And he heeded not the children
Who were gazing, rapt, upon him.
Suddenly he raised his right arm,
Pointed out across the river,
And the children's large eyes followed
And dilated wide with wonder;
For the river seemed to widen,
Stretch away into the distance,
Spreading like a mighty ocean;
And the farther shore had vanished—
Water melted into darkness;
And eternity was near them,
And the river laved its borders.

As they sat there, scarcely breathing,
Lo, a star shone through the darkness!
Faint and far away it glimmered;
But it nearer came, and nearer,

And its light grew clear and stronger
As it floated ever toward them.
Then the outlines of a vessel,
Indistinct and weird and ghostly,
Rose before them, draped in sable!
Shadowy forms, with wings of midnight,
Steady plied the noiseless paddles;—
And the distant star a torch was,
Burning in the murky darkness!

Then the old man broke the silence,
Called the children closer round him,
Placed his hands on them in blessing,
Calmly spoke this farewell to them:

"'Tis the Spirits, O my children!
'Tis the Spirits of the Soul-land
That have come to bear me homeward
To the happy hunting-places,
To the Islands of the Blessed.
Nevermore you'll see the old man;
Nevermore his feet will wander
To the margin of the river;
Nevermore he'll sit here musing
On the days so long departed.
He is going to his people,
And a long farewell he bids you.
This is now the white man's country:
I have lived to see just vengeance
Meted out to those who murdered
All my people. Northward, westward,
Backward from our lands they're driven—
Lands which they had won by murder—
Till in deserts far they wander
Where to live is worse than dying.
Still the white man marches onward:
Where he treads the cornfields ripen;
Trees are changed to giant lodges;
Fire and water do his bidding,
And his thoughts are borne on lightning!
Nothing deep from him is hidden;
Naught for him is too mysterious.
All too long I here have lingered;
Naught have I with him in common.
All my early friends and kindred
Long have passed away before me,
And I long to go and join them.
Once again, Farewell, my children!"

Then the old man ceased his speaking,
Laid him down upon the greensward,
On his breast his thin hands folded,

And in tones of resignation,
Clear and peaceful rose his death-song.

Still the boat came nearer, nearer,
Till upon the sands it grated;
And the children shrank in terror
As the Spirits of the Soul-land
Rose, and coming to the old man
Threw a robe of sable o'er him,
Carefully and slowly raised him,
Bore him to their shadowy vessel,
While a solemn dirge they chanted
In a tongue weird and mysterious.
Then the frightened children, watching,
Saw the vessel drifting from them,
Saw the torch grow dimmer, fainter,
Till it seemed as but a firefly,
Out across the waste of water.
Still they watched it, till it vanished
In the far-off clouds of darkness
Into which the water melted.
Thus the two worlds intermingle,
And there are no bounds between them!

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The title of the paper on the Methodist Church and Slavery, by Rev. John H. Ryan, was, by some oversight, omitted from the table of contents of this volume but it is fully indexed. *See* Ryan, Methodist Episcopal Church, etc.

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